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Critical Dissertations
ON THE
I L I A D
OF
H O M E R.

Εὖρε φύσις, μόλις εὖρε· τεκῆσα δ' ἱπασσάλο μόχθων,
Εἷς ἓνα μῦθον ΟΜΗΡΩΝ, ὅλην τρέψασα μενοίνην.

Antholog.

By R. KEDINGTON, D. D.,

Rector of Kedington, Suffolk.

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Critical Discussions

ON THE

ILLIAD



HOMER

The first edition of the
Iliad, printed by
J. Baskin, 1719.

By R. HEDINGTON, D.D.

Master of King's College

LONDON

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TO THE
Right Honourable
CHARLES
LORD MAYNARD
THIS VOLUME

Is most respectfully inscribed

By His LORDSHIP'S

Most Obedient and Obliged

Humble Servant

R. KEDINGTON.

ΛΕΟΝΙΔΟΥ Ταραντίνου

Εἰς Ὅμηρον.

ἌΣΤΡΑ μὲν ἡμάυρωσε, καὶ ἱερὰ κύκλα σελήνης
Ἄξονα διήσας ἔμπυρος ἥλιος.
Ἵμνοπόλους δ' ἀγγελῶν ἀπημάλδυνεν Ὅμηρος,
Λαμπρότατον μυσῶν φέγος ἀνασχόμενος.

Antholog.

Εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν

Ἐπὶ δ' ἐριδμαίνουσι πόλεις διὰ ῥίζαν Ὀμήρου,
Κύμη, Σμύρνα, Χίος, Κολοφῶν, Πυλὸς, Ἄργος,
Ἀθηναί.

Antholog.

Εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν.

Τίς ποτ' ὁ τὸν Τροίης πόλεμον σελίδεσσι χαράξας
Ἥ τις ὁ τὴν δολιχὴν Λαερτιάδαο πλάνην.
Οὐκ ὄνομ' εὐρίσκω σαφές, εἰ πόλιν οὐράνι Ζεῦ,
Μήπολε σῶν ἐπέων δόξαν Ὅμηρος ἔχει.

Antholog.

P R E F A C E.

THE ancient critics, commentators, and scholiasts on the Iliad, have used their utmost diligence, and spared no pains in their expositions of that divine poem, and have been so happy herein as for the greatest part to satisfy the most inquisitive and curious readers: but so high-raised was their admiration of the work itself, which they thought to be more than human, that they seem generally to have esteemed the author of it an inspired person, and that he wrote, as Plato speaks, as the prophet and interpreter of the gods: and this supposed inspiration so far awed and satisfied them, that they looked no further, nor ever endeavoured once to account from natural causes for this his great superiority over all other poets: but the late author of the Enquiry into

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the life and writings of *Homer*, has ventured to go a step further, and to shew, “ by what fate and disposition of things it has happened that none have equalled him in *epic poetry* for two thousand seven hundred years, the time since he wrote; nor any, that we know, ever surpassed him before *.”

And after answering this design fully in the course of his book, to which I must refer the reader for fuller satisfaction herein, he sums up the whole of what he has said in the following manner, “ thus † (says he) have we run over *Homer's* advantages from nature and education: we have surveyed the climate where he was born: we have considered the manners of his country, its language and religion: and have found from the

* P. 2.

† P. 289.

“ nature

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“ nature of things, and their constant
“ effects, that they were all in the
“ happiest temper for description and
“ *poesy*. We have gone further and
“ traced him in his *private edu-*
“ *cation*, his *employment*, and manner
“ of *life*, and found them of the
“ same nature and tendency: and to
“ account for the wide knowledge
“ of men and things, that appears
“ throughout his works, we have
“ looked abroad, and found foreign
“ countries affording the happiest op-
“ portunities man’s heart could wish,
“ for *poetic* improvement; their joint
“ efforts we have found verified in de-
“ scriptions, and in the numbers of
“ shining images, natural allusions, and
“ surprising tales that grace his writ-
“ ings: But take them all together,
“ and they had not been able to raise
“ him to his high station, if the no-

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“ blest *subject*, that ever fired the
“ fancy of a *poet* had not completed
“ his happiness.”

*Thus is the notion of the miracle
ceased, and the opinion of his book being
of heavenly origin chased away, and the
whole found and shewn to be the product
only of the greatest genius aided by the
happiest concurrence of natural causes.*

*But though the miracle be ceased, the
high admiration of the superiority of his
genius, and of his real and most trans-
cendent worth and excellence as a poet,
will ever remain with all judicious and
candid readers : and as all ages past
have been struck and captivated with
the wonderful charms and beauty of his
poetry, and have felt and owned the
highest pleasure and delight in the per-
usal of it ; and have been fully con-
vinced thereby of his having been pos-
sessed beyond all others of this principal
design*

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*design and end of his art * : so will all posterity, as well as the present age, (so long as the language in which it is wrote shall be known) partake of the same exquisite pleasure and delight.*

One person † indeed has arisen, who, in a manner never before attempted,

* “ Let us remember (says the author of
 “ *The Enquiry, &c.*) what it is that gives us
 “ such perpetual pleasure in reading the *Iliad*.
 “ That makes us start at the turns of the speeches,
 “ and fills us with anxiety and wonder. It is
 “ not the beautiful descriptions of *places*, nor
 “ even the rage and ardor of the *battles*; but
 “ those *high strokes of character*, that every where
 “ occur, and are constantly presenting us with
 “ new sentiments of the human heart, *such as*
 “ we expect, and from our own experience feel
 “ to be *true*. These can never miss their aim:
 “ they at once charm the fancy with images,
 “ and fill the understanding with reflection:
 “ they interest every thing that is human about
 “ us, and go near to agitate us with the same
 “ passions as we see represented in the moving
 “ story.”—p. 312, 313.

† Abbe Terracon: see his *Critique* translated and printed at London, 1745.

has

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has ventured, notwithstanding this universal applause, to write very largely against, and even endeavoured to overturn the long established credit of the *Iliad*: and tells us very roundly in the preface to his book, “ that all men have
 “ been shocked with many blemishes
 “ and faults, that abound in the *Iliad*,
 “ such as the indignity of the cha-
 “ racter of his deities, &c. since,
 “ (continues he) all authors, whe-
 “ ther ancient or modern, whoever
 “ spoke of *Homer* are full either of
 “ formal and express censures and
 “ condemnations, or of strained and
 “ unnatural apologies, and vindica-
 “ tions of him on this head *—And
 “ further tells us, we must necessarily
 “ conclude from an infinite number
 “ of particular observations, he shall
 “ make in the course of the following

* P. 79. of the translation of his preface.

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“ Dissertations, that he had naturally a
“ confused and irregular imagination,
“ and that in whatever age he had
“ lived this fault would have appeared
“ more or less.”

Now the faults he principally blames him for here, are the indignity of the characters of his gods, and the badness and inequality of the characters of his men, and particularly of his principal hero, as may be seen more fully in his work at large: but as these objections are occasionally obviated in the course of the following Dissertations, and more particularly and fully in the fifteenth section, wherein I consider the battle of the gods as described in the twenty first book of the Iliad, I presume what is therein advanced may prove an answer to the principal objections contained in this Critique, at the same time that it fully removes other objections and diffi-

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*difficulties that preceding commentators and critics have left upon our hands in their several defences of this poem: for as it will therein be seen that the supposed indignity of the characters of the gods, and badness and inequality of the characters of the men, and particularly of the principal hero of the poem, had a foundation in the received, or even established opinions of the religion of Greece at the time of the Trojan war, and in the real manners of the very persons and heroes described in the Iliad; these reflections will I think fully acquit the poet (whose proper business it certainly was, not to invent, but make use of such characters of gods * and men † as he found) of the*

* So apt was the *theology* of these times for the purposes of *poetry*, that *Homer's* gods continue to be the gods of *poetry* to this very day.

† The characters of his men were likewise the properest

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the above imputations and severe censures; and may, as I observed, be thought a sufficient answer to the principal objections of his book: and all the supposed irregularity in consequence of these ill-grounded censures imputed to the imagination of the poet, will also

properest that could be for his use as a poet.—

“ Such a convention of princes (says the author of the Enquiry, &c.) from different countries and foils, but all speaking the same language, furnished him with great materials, and hindered him from attempting an impossibility: I mean the feigning or forming new imaginary characters, without originals from which he might copy them.

“ The flourishing condition of Greece at that time; the great number of principalities, free cities, and growing republicks, sent forth an assembly of heroes, the world could hardly match ever since. The Grecians themselves confessed, that their country, when most polished and improved, had never produced so many free natural characters, not tainted with politics, nor moulded by laws, nor effeminated by pleasures: and for that reason, half deified those very persons, whom they knew at the same time to be but the sons of men.”—p. 313,

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be

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be found to arise solely from his building upon the opinions of the age he wrote of, and not from his own cast of mind, or way of thinking.

And as to his further pretences in the course of his book *, that the subject of the *Iliad* is without action; and that the poet has chosen a passion instead thereof, namely, the anger of *Achilles*; which engaged and detained him in a state of inactivity and indolence: to all this I answer in the words of the most excellent critic Bossu †, “ that no one should be surprised at
“ *Homer*’s way of expressing himself
“ in his first words; where he says,
“ he sings the deadly anger of *Achil-*
“ *les*; nor think he proposes this an-
“ ger as the subject of his poem. He
“ would not then have made the re-
“ hearsal of an action, but of a pas-

* Chap. 4.

† B. 3. chap. 3.

“ sion.

P R E F A C E.

“ *fiat*. We are not to stop here;
“ since in truth he himself does not:
“ He says he sings the *anger* which
“ had been the cause of so much
“ slaughter among the *Greeks*, and
“ of so many brave men’s deaths. He
“ proposes an *action* then, and not a
“ mere *passion*, for the subject of his
“ *poem*: and this *action* is, as we
“ have already hinted, *the revenge of*
“ *Achilles*.”

And this Mr. Pope in his preface
to his translation observes, “ is the
“ most short and single subject that
“ ever was chosen by any poet. Yet
“ this he has supplied with a vaster
“ variety of incidents and events, and
“ crowded with a greater number of
“ councils, speeches, battles, and epi-
“ sodes of all kinds, than are to be
“ found even in those poems whose
“ schemes are of the utmost latitude
“ and

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“and irregularity. The *action* is hurried on with the most vehement spirit, and its whole duration employs not so much as *fifty days*.”—
Lastly, as to his * *many lesser malevolent positions, ill-grounded reflections, and exaggerated censures against several particular parts of our author's work, I believe hardly any will be found, that will care to give themselves the trouble of going through the whole of them: but I hope I may meet with the reader's excuse for these very few observations upon an author, who has appeared so hardy as to endeavour wholly to overturn the credit of the oldest, greatest, and most established character in the poetic world: and which it is the design of the following sheets fully to vindicate.*

* Terracon's.

We

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We have had also a further and recent attack upon our author from another Frenchman, as peculiar and strange as the former: and I must here bespeak the reader's further candor, whilst I endeavour in a summary way only to obviate in like manner his censures:—"Candidus (he tells us, †) casting his eyes upon Homer very handsomely bound, praised his high mightiness for the goodness of his taste. That book, said he, was the favourite of the great Pan-gloss, the best philosopher in Germany!—It is none of mine, said Pocacurante with great indifference: I was made to believe formerly that I read him with pleasure: but that continued repetition of battles that resemble each other; his gods who*

* *V—l—r—e* in his piece intitl'd *Ca—d—d—s*.

† Chap. 25.

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“ are always busy, without bringing
“ any thing to a decision : his *Helen*,
“ who is the subject of the war, and
“ has scarce any thing to do in the
“ whole piece ; that *Troy*, which is
“ besieged, but never taken, I say,
“ all these defects give me the greatest
“ disgust. I have asked some scholars
“ if they perused him with as little
“ pleasure as I did ? those who were
“ any way ingenuous professed to me
“ that they could not keep the book
“ in their hands ; but that they were
“ obliged to give it a place in their
“ libraries, as a monument of anti-
“ quity, for the same reason as they
“ do old rusty *medals* ; which none
“ will take for *money*.”

*Strange censures these ! and little de-
serving of a serious answer !—The at-
tentive reader of Homer must have
observed that the battles in the Iliad*
are

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are so far from resembling each other, that all of them are of a different cast and turn, and continually rise above each other in the variety of the incidents and the importance of the actions throughout the whole: and Mr. Pope, in the preface to his translation of the Iliad, has the following full observation to this purpose:—" Nothing (says he) " is so surprising as the descriptions " of the battles, which take up no " less than half the Iliad, and are " supplied with so vast a variety of " incidents, that no one bears a likeness to another; such different " kinds of deaths, that no two heroes " are wounded in the same manner: " and such a profusion of noble ideas, " that every battle rises above the " last in greatness, horror, and confusion."

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*As to his next pretence, "that his
" gods are always busy without bring-
" ing any thing to a decision:"—be it
remembered that very soon, in the first
book, Apollo revenges the insult done
his priest, by Agamemnon in not ac-
cepting his ransom and releasing his
daughter, by immediately laying waste
the whole Grecian army with a plague:
and it is obvious that Jupiter's promise
also, made to the goddess Thetis, in
the first book, of revenging the in-
dignity done Achilles by Agamem-
non in taking his fair and favourite
captive Briseis away from him by force,
and of humbling the Grecians for that
very purpose, is effectually brought to
pass by the Trojans, in pursuance of
his will and aid, first driving the Gre-
cians from the plain, after Achilles's
secession, and next breaking and forcing
their way through the wall, which they
bad*

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had built as a safeguard to their fleet and army; and at last by even setting fire to their very ships:—and so many are the instances of the gods and goddesses effectually aiding and rescuing their favourite heroes in the time of action, by infusing new and uncommon strength and vigor into them, or the like, and sometimes even saving them from certain destruction, by carrying them in a cloud quite out of the field of battle, that it would be but a needless task to cite them particularly: so that this pretence also of the gods inability to effect their purposes, is found to be frivolous and groundless.—

*As to his telling us next, “ that his
“ Helen, who is the subject of the war,
“ has scarce any thing to do in the
“ whole piece;” an answer may be seen
in Mr. Pope’s note on the 165th line
of his translation of the third book,
where*

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where he tells us on her approaching
the walls of Troy where Priam sat
with his counsellors observing the Gre-
cian leaders below on the plain, " that
" the following part, where we have
" the first sight of *Helena*, is what
" he cannot think inferior to any in
" the poem. The reader (*he observes*)
" has naturally an aversion to this
" pernicious beauty, and is apt enough
" to wonder at the *Greeks* for en-
" deavouring to recover her at such
" an expence. But her amiable be-
" haviour *here*, the secret wishes that
" arise in favour of her rightful lord,
" her tenderness for her parents and
" relations, the relentings of her soul
" for the mischiefs her beauty had
" been the cause of, the confusion
" she appears in, the veiling her face,
" and dropping a tear, are particulars
" so beautifully natural, as to make
" every

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“ every *reader*, no less than *Menelaus*
 “ himself, inclined to forgive at least,
 “ if not to love her. We are after-
 “ wards confirmed in this partiality
 “ by the sentiment of the old coun-
 “ sellors upon the right of her, which
 “ one would think *Homer* put into
 “ their mouths with that very view:
 “ we excuse her no more than *Priam*
 “ does himself, and all those who felt
 “ the calamities she occasioned, and
 “ this regard for her is heightened
 “ by all she says of herself: in which
 “ there is scarce a word that is not big
 “ with repentance and good nature.”

*And I may further add, she always
 appears throughout the poem, whenever
 introduced as speaking or acting any
 thing*, in the same modest, repentant,*

* See to this purpose her discourse with *Paris*
 (b. 2. v. 426.) and speech to *Hector* (b. 6. v. 344.)
 and lamentation over his dead body, (b. 24.
 v. 762.)

amiable

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amiable and engaging light; which makes that even Priam and the Trojans themselves, in the seventh book (when Antenor proposes the delivering her up to the Greeks in order to put an end to the war) so far incline to Paris's will, as not to consent to give her up: and thus is the war continued still in respect to her, and evidently as she was the first cause of the siege of Troy, so is she the principal and permanent one throughout the poem: the censures therefore of this author, on this head, are found equally groundless with those on the two preceding.

*And lastly, as to the offence given him by Troy's being besieged, but never taken; all readers of the Iliad very well know that the poem ends with the death and interment * of Hector: who*
the

* That the poem finishes properly here, the critics have universally allowed, not excepting even

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the poet frequently tells us was the only defence of Troy: and consequently with his death was the defence of Troy cut off, the decrees of fate concluded, and the city no longer able to hold out against the superior force of the Grecians:— and to this circumstance Virgil manifestly alludes, when he introduces Hector thus speaking of himself—

————— Si Pergama dextrâ
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa
fuisent. Æn. Lib. 2.—v. 291.

Thus in fine is all that Pococurante has advanced against the Iliad, in this book of V-lt-re's, found to be quite trifling and frivolous; and evidently calcu-*

even Abbe Terracon himself (see b. 1. chap. 3. towards the conclusion:) and again (chap. 5.) Hector's death, or the deliverance of the Greeks, was indeed the true epic action, and the principal subject, or ultimate design and object of the whole.

* Equally sorry are the reflections, and ground-

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calculated, like the rest of the piece, together with other † writings of this loose author, to depreciate human nature, arraign providence, minister to the immorality, and indulge the unhappy sceptical turn of the age.

less the censures he has also cast (chap. 25.) upon the most justly admired *poem* of our own greatest poet: and these I should also proceed particularly to obviate and disprove here, did either the compose of a *note*, or the design of this *work* permit me.

† See particularly his *Micromegas*, a comic romance, being a severe satire upon the philosophy, ignorance and self-conceit of mankind.

October 1. 1759.

R. K.

E R R A T A.

Page 66. line last, *for* Polyrdus, *read* Polyidus. p. 97. l. 8. *for* thy great Machaon, *read* the great Machaon. p. 98. line last, *for* found Achilles's sending Patroclus, *read* found the cause of Achilles's sending Patroclus. p. 105. l. 4. *for* to contrive a further delay, *read* in contriving a further delay. p. 109. l. 3. *for* all before, *r.* all before him. p. 132. l. 13. *for* uncivilized states, *read* civilized states. p. 144. l. 8. of the note, *for* his summons, *read* her summons. p. 164. l. 13. *for* on the other side, *read* one side. p. 204. l. 8. of the note, *for* and when, *read* only when.

CRITICAL

To follow the Preface.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

READER.

BE it known, that “ the *Ægyptians* had three
“ distinct ways of writing : the *Epistolic*,
“ composed of alphabetical letters : the *Hiero-*
“ *glyphic*, which represented the objects them-
“ selves ; and the *Symbolic*, which expressed them
“ by *metaphor* and *allegory* * :” now as this was
the case, it cannot be doubted, when we consider
how much *Homer* has made use of *Metaphors* and
Allegories throughout the *Iliad*, but that he adopt-
ed herein the *symbolic* way of writing, which his
travelling into *Ægypt* probably taught him ; and
the use he found it of in the adornment of his
poem most evidently encouraged him in the very
free, noble, and masterly application of it through-
out the whole : insomuch that I am fully satisfied
his making use of *Metaphors* and *Allegories* so uni-
versally, is nothing else but the introduction of
this *symbolic* way of writing ; and in fine, that
the whole of the *Iliad*, respecting the *Machinery*

* See an Essay to prove the *Chinese* are an *Ægyptian* colony,
written in *French* by Monsieur de *Guignes*, member of the
Royal Academy of *Belles Letters*, &c.

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of the *Gods*, is throughout *Allegorical* and *Symbolical*: (and the not sufficiently understanding and attending to this natural and easy solution, has run the *critics* into many forced, fanciful, and absurd defences of the several parts of it; and by turns into as forced and unnatural censures :) thus at the first opening of the *poem* we are told, that in every thing throughout the whole, *the will of Jove was fulfilled*: which is true only in an *allegorical* sense, and according to the *symbolic* way of writing and expressing things; for his satisfying *Tbetis's* request in the course of the *poem*, and humbling the *Grecians* in order to honour her son, is certainly only an *allegory* and *symbolic* turn given to a *plain fact*; and signifies no more than the *Trojans* proved superior to the *Greeks*, now destitute of the aid of *Achilles*, the son of *Tbetis*; and moreover, that *Agamemnon's* rash and uncautious ill treatment of him, was signally punished in the natural course of things: and that this is the sense, clear of the *Allegory*, appears further and most evidently to be the case from *Jupiter's* telling *Juno* (*Il. O. ver. 69, &c.*) that after the death of *Hector* by the spear of *Achilles*; that is, after all the natural and consequent misfortunes attending the anger of *Achilles*, he would redress the *Grecians*, and overturn *Troy*.

Εκ τῶδ' ἂν τοι ἔπειτα παλίωξιν παρὰ νηῶν
 Αἰὲν ἐγὼ τεύχομαι διαμπερές, εἰσοκ' Ἀχαιοί,
 Ἴλιον αἰπὺ ἐλπίεν, Ἀθηναίης διὰ βουλᾶς.

Ex

ADVERTISEMENT.

Ex eo deinceps tempore ut iterum in fugam
avertantur *Trojani* à navibus

Semper ego efficiam perpetuò, usque dum *Achivi*
Ilium excelsum ceperint, *Minervæ* consiliis.

Here I say the whole *Allegory* naturally unfolds itself, and all the preceding narration appears now to be only *symbolic*; by *Jupiter's* telling *Juno* in plain terms, that after all the natural ill effects of *Achilles's* secession and anger were over, he would avenge the injured *Grecians* of their enemies (whom therefore it is evident he never *literally* aided) and let them take and sack *Troy*. And the not considering the whole as being only an *allegorical* and *symbolical* description of things, led many of the *Ancients*, I say, into unreasonable and ill-grounded censures, and defences too; upon many particular parts of the *Machinery*; and indeed if they saw the *Allegory* running through the whole, they could not have explained it to the people, without giving up the *reality* and *power* of the gods, which the established religion taught them to believe; and this therefore they dared not openly to gainsay in their writings: and the *Moderns*, who are at liberty in this particular, not understanding this *symbolic* garb, in which the whole is dressed, seem most of them to have fallen into the same error, and for want of the general and full view of his way of writing, to have given up or defended without reason many things in this his most finished *poem*; all of which
may

ADVERTISEMENT.

may at the same time be thus fairly accounted for *allegorically*; as being permitted by *Jupiter* for a season only in regard to men's *free agency*, but not *approved*. So that to say all in a few words, the plain story of the *Iliad* is that the anger and secession of *Achilles*, and the want of his assistance, caused a very ill and distressful turn to the affairs of the *Grecians* for about *fifty days*, but that upon his reconciliation and return to the army, they became superior to the *Trojans*, and drove them back into the *city*; and after the death of *Hector* (who fell by *Achilles's* spear) that through the aid of *Jupiter* they even sacked and took *Troy*. And thus, in fine, the evils, we see here, of a small continuance, as is common in human affairs, are finally removed and fully recompensed by *kind providence*. And thus is the management of the poet in the *machinery* of the whole seen to be exceeding great, and the *moral* most exquisite.



CRITICAL

CRITICAL DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
ILIAD OF HOMER.

SECT. I.

AS the following essays, which make up this work, will consist wholly of *critical observations* upon, and *illustrations* of, the *Iliad* of *Homer*; the *first* and *best* * epic or heroic poem, that the wit

* Hence is he called—*fons ingeniorum Homerus*—and hence is his work styled—*pretiosissimum humani animi opus*—*Pliny*. And says *Velleius Paterculus*—*Clarissimum Homeri illuxit ingenium sine exemplo maximum qui magnitudine operis, et fulgore carminum, appellari poeta solus meruit: in quo hoc maximum est, quod neque ante illum, quem ille imitaretur, neque post*

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wit of man has ever been capable of producing in all ages of the world; and which has even the credit of giving *immortality* * to the *action* it relates: it will be absolutely necessary, I apprehend, before I enter upon my intended defence of the separate parts of it, first to prefix some general ac-

post illum, qui imitari eum possit, inventus—
And *Horace* says—*Priores Mæonius tenet sedes
Homerus.* Car. Lib. 1. c. 5.

* *Nisi Ilias extitisset* (says *Tully*) *idem tumulus,*
qui corpus Achillis contexerat, nomen etiam ob-
viisset. *Pro Arch. Poet.*

To the same purpose *Horace*—
*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi, sed omnes illacrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.*

Lib. 4. Od. 9.

Before great *Agamemnon* reigned
Reigned kings as great as he, and brave,
Whose huge ambition's now contained,
In the small compass of a grave.
In endless night they sleep unwept, unknown,
No bard had they to make all time their
own.

Francis.
count



count of the *poem* itself, shewing of what kind and rank it is; and why it has always obtained the name of *epic* or *heroic*.

Now this kind of poetry is called *epic* from the Greek word *ἔπος*; because it is an *action* related by the poet: who by a kind of innocent *magic*, raises from the dead, and brings upon the stage those very persons who have done the *action*, he would represent: he cautiously avoids speaking much himself, but makes them speak and act over again the same words and actions they spoke and did before; and in some sort transports his auditors to the time *when*, and the place *where*, the *action* was done: thus avoiding the declaring it to them in the plain simple way of an *historian*, and even making them witnesses of it, and the action the

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discoverer * of itself. The subject of the *poem* must be great, instructive and serious, full of pleasing admiration, and containing only one *principal action* †, to which all the rest must refer and be subordinate; and this *principal action* must have *continuity*, and have passed in a certain space of time; not exceeding *a year at most* ‡: and all that reaches beyond this

* *Bossu*.—This *Homer* best understood and practised of all *poets*, seeing he speaks but little in his own person, but makes his *personages* say or act the rest according to *Aristotle's* observation
 Ὅμηρος μὲν ἄλλα τὰ πολλὰ ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι, καὶ δὴ ὅτι μόνος τῶν ποιητῶν, ἐκ ἀγνόει, ὃ δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. Ἀυτὸν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν εὐλαχίστα λέγειν· ἔ γὰρ ἐστὶ κατὰ ταῦτα μιμητής· οἱ μὲν ἔν ἄλλοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δι' ὅλα ἀγωνίζονται, μιμῆναι δὲ ὀλίγα καὶ ὀλιγάκις· ὃ δὲ ὀλίγα καὶ προοιμιασάμενος, εὐθὺς εἰσάγει ἄνδρα, ἢ γυναῖκα. c. 4.—and he adds *other things that have manners*, which includes *gods and goddesses*, and all *allegorical persons*.

† *Denique sit quodvis simplex duntaxat et unum.*
Horat. De Art. Poet.

‡ *Rollin*—others think it may take up more or less

this time must be brought in by way of *episode* on some probable and natural occasion: thus will the *artificial* order cut off the languishing and unpleasant incidents, and the intervals of time that are void of action, and which would hinder the *continuity* thereof: and by the lopping of these things will the poem have that continued and united force, which is proper to make it run smoothly on, like one continued pure stream *, through out the whole, and hence be replenished with those beauties which the *general action* itself is void of:

less time, according to the nature of the *action* it representeth, provided it has *continuity*, and doth not encrease to a length that is remarkable: so that, according to this opinion, there is no certain rule for the duration of the *principal action*, but only this discretionary one.—See *Bossu* more fully, B. 3. c. 12.

* Vehemens, et liquidus, puroque simillimus
amni.

Horat.

the

the *unity* also will hereby be the better preserved, and the hero of the poem, as he ought, will by this means be seen, like some principal personage in a picture*, conspicuous above the rest and at full length. And further, as I cannot pretend to add any thing to Lord *Verulam's* fine and full description of this species or kind of poetry, so will the laying before the intelligent reader the whole of what he has said upon *narrative* or *heroic* poetry, be undoubtedly, after these particulars, the most satisfactory general account, that can possibly be here given: as it most aptly and fully describes the nature of *epic* or *heroic* poetry; and will of course at the same time place before our clear view and perfect sight, a true and full copy

* Ut pictura poesis erit. *Horat. de Art. Poet.*

or pourtrait of the *Iliad* itself: which is the greatest masterpiece * of this highest and most exalted species of poetry: and which most probably he had principally in his thoughts when he penned it: his delineation of it is as follows. — *Poesis Narrativa* †, says

he,

* Hence that lofty character given of *Homer* by *Theocritus* —

Τὶς δὲ κεν ἄλλω ἀκῦσαι ἄλις πάντεσσιν Ὀμηρος
Οὔτος αἰδῶν λῶσος. —

And hence *Lucretius*'s high compliment of

— *Graie gentis decus* —

† *Narrative* (or *heroic*) poetry, so far imitates history that it would be apt to deceive us did not the relation it gives of things exceed all probability — and further we must add with *Horace*, for the fuller description of it —

*Semper ad eventum festinat, et in medias res
Non secus ac notas auditorem rapit; et quæ
Desperet tractata nitescere posse, relinquit:
Ac ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, media ne disperpet inum.*

How

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he, *prorsus historiam imitatur, ut fere fallat, nisi quod res extollat supra fidem*—and goes on to a fuller account

of
How *Homer* has acquitted himself in this kind of poetry, may be seen from the few following general observations—The *action* of the *Iliad* is founded in the anger of *Achilles*, and begins in the tenth year of the war, and in the most interesting part of it according to this rule—And says *Rapin*,
“ *Homer* has in the *fable* of his poem a most
“ large and noble foundation to build upon : his
“ characters are greatly extended : he has more
“ grandeur, and more of the sublime than others,
“ he paints things better, his images are more
“ finished and perfect pieces : his reflections
“ have more morality in them, and are more
“ sententious : his fancy is richer and more pregnant, his wit more universal : he is master
“ in all professions, poet, orator, philosopher,
“ geographer, artisan, as he pleases : he entertains us with more variety in the management
“ of his *fable* : he has more of that impetuosity,
“ that raises and elevates the fancy : his expressions have more life, more strength and energy
“ in them : he is of a more happy genius ; and
“ has more of the temper and complexion of
“ a poet than others : his verses are more pompous and stately ; they more delight the ear
“ of

of its nature and properties afterwards
 —*Atque de Poesi Narrativa * sive eam*
 He-

“ of those that understand the beauty of poetry,
 “ with their number and cadence : he is more
 “ natural, his greatest art being to seem without
 “ art, painting every thing after *nature*.”

The encomiums on *Homer*, as summed up by
Rapin. Comp. of Homer and Virgil. Chap. 2.

* *Bacon de Aug. scient. Lib. 2. c. 13.*—As
 for *Narrative* poetry, or if you please to call it
Heroical, that (so you understand it of the
matter, not of the *verse*) seems to be raised from
 a most noble foundation, and which makes much
 for the dignity of man's nature. For the sensible
 world being inferior in dignity to the rational
 soul : this *poetry* seems to give to human nature,
 what *history* denies it : and to satisfy the mind
 with the shadows at least of things, where the
 substance cannot be had.

For if the matter be thoroughly considered,
 a strong argument may be drawn from *poetry*,
 that a more illustrious magnitude of things, a
 more perfect goodness, and a more beautiful va-
 riety pleases the soul of man, than what it can
 any way find in mere *nature*, since the *fall*.
 Wherefore seeing the acts and events, which are
 the subject of true history, are not of that am-
 plitude as to content the soul of man ; *poetry* is
 ready at hand to feign acts greater and more
 heroical,

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Heroicam appellare placet (modo hoc intelligas de materia, non de versu) ea à fundamento prorsus nobili excitata vi-

heroical. Seeing true history propounds the successes of actions, in no wise proportionable to the merit of virtue and vice; *poetry* corrects it, and exhibits issues and fortunes more agreeable to desert, and more according to the law of providence. Seeing true history, by representing actions and events more ordinary and less interchanged, satiates the mind of man; *poetry* cheers and refreshes the same, chanting things rare and unexpected, and full of alternative variations. So that *poetry* serves and contributes not only to delight, but also to magnanimity and morality. Wherefore it may seem, and with reason too, to partake of a kind of divinity, because it erects and exalts the spirit with high raptures, by proportioning the images of things to the desires of the mind, not by buckling and bowing the mind to the nature of things, as reason and history do. And by these allurements and congruities, whereby it sooths the soul of man, joined also with consort of musick, whereby it may more sweetly insinuate itself, it hath made itself a way to esteem, even in very rude times, and with barbarous nations, where other learning had stood wholly excluded.

Translated by Dr. William Wilymot.
detur,

detur, quod ad dignitatem humanæ naturæ in primis spectat. Cum enim mundus sensibilis, sit anima rationali dignitate inferior, videtur Poesis hæc humanæ naturæ largiri, quæ historia denegat; atque animo umbris rerum utcunque satisfacere, cum solida haberi non possint. Si quis enim acutius introspeciat, firmum ex poesi sumitur argumentum, magnitudinem rerum magis illustrem, ordinem magis perfectum, et varietatem magis pulchram, animæ humanæ complacere, quam in natura ipsa, post lapsum, reperire ullo modo possit. Quapropter cum res gestæ et eventus, qui veræ historiæ subjiciuntur, non sunt ejus amplitudinis, in qua anima humana, sibi satisfaciat, præstò est poesis quæ facta magis heroica consingat: cum historia verò successus rerum, minime pro meritis virtutum et scelerum narret; corrigit poesis et exitus et fortunas

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tunds secundum merita, et ex lege nemeseos, exhibet: cum historia vera, obviâ rerum satietate et similitudine, animæ humanæ fastidio sit; reficit eam poësis, inexpectata et varia et vicissitudinum plena canens. Adeo ut poësis ista non solum ad delectationem*, sed etiam ad animi magnitudinem, et ad mores conferat. Quare et meritò etiam divinitatis particeps videri possit; quia animum erigit, et in sublime rapit; rerum simulachra ad animi desideria accommodando, non animum rebus (quod ratio facit et historia) submittendo. Atque his quidem illecebris, et congruitate, quo animum humanum demulcet, addito etiam consortio musices, unde suaviùs insinuari possit aditum sibi patefecit, et honori fuerit etiam sæculis

* According to Horace's observation—

Et prodesse volunt et delectare poetæ. Poet.

plane

planè rudibus, et apud nationes barbaras *, *in aliæ doctrinæ prorsus exclusæ sint.*—And I may add that the *Iliad* of *Homer* so aptly described, and fully characterized in the whole of this account of *epic* or *heroic* poetry, was not more the delight and admiration of the unpolished and boisterous ages in which it arose, and which it so greatly and powerfully helped to render more tractable and courteous than it has been in all succeeding and more civilized ages of the most accomplished philosophers, princes, heroes and priests, common-wealths and kingdoms †, even

* *Sanctum Poëtæ nomen nulla unquam barbaria violavit. Saxa et solitudines voce respondent, bestię sepe immanes cantu flectuntur, atque consistunt: nos instituti rebus optimis, non poëtarum voce moveamur.*
Tull. pro Arch. Poët.

† *Lycurgus* first brought them into *Greece* from *Asia*, in order to civilize the minds of his young

even down to the present time

common-wealth at *Lacedæmon*: and from him they soon passed, as *Rhapsodies*, all over *Greece*: but we find these separate parts thus sung about, were afterwards digested into one uniform poem at *Athens*: and from thence copies were carried as far as *Syracuse* in *Sicily*: *Aristotle* set forth a perfect edition of it at *Macedon* to pleasure *Alexander the Great*. Afterwards they were honourably received in *Ægypt* by the *Ptolemies*. And we find that even editions got into *Syria*, and various parts of *Asia*. And *Eustathius* makes mention of *Massoletick* and *Synoptick* copies. And there were even *Indian* and *Persian* versions of them. And when the *Greek* tongue became a favourite language at *Rome*, the books of *Homer* became most highly and generally admired there: and have since been the pleasure and delight of all the learned nations of *Europe*.



S E C T. II.

NOW the universal character of the *first* and *best* of poets given to *Homer* by the ablest and most judicious *critics* in every age since the *Iliad* appeared in the world ; makes it needless for me to attempt any thing further in support of so universally established a reputation : and indeed the utmost stretch of human imagination could not easily furnish any finer or more finished encomiums than have already been given by the *ancients* and *moderns* on his *Iliad*. But the highest and most transcendent compliment upon this *poem*, may be seen in the great *Milton's* poem intituled *Paradise regained* ; and I the rather mention it, because this poem of his not being in so high repute as his other, *Paradise lost*,

B 2

the

the encomium I hint at may have escaped the general notice it deserves :— it is as follows—

*Whose poem Phœbus * challeng'd for his own.*

Moreover, as I cannot pretend to add any thing of my own that can reflect the least lustre on his character as a poet, his works having always been looked upon as something *above human* †: so would it be besides the pur-

* We find indeed that he was honoured by the ancients next to *Apollo*—Ποιητικῆς ἀπαίσης Ἀργεῖοι τὰ πρῶτα Ὀμήρῳ ἔδωκαν, δευτέρως δὲ αὐτῷ ἑταῖρον παντὶς, ποιῆντες δὲ θυσίαν ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ ἐκάλεον τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ὀμηρον. Luc. Var. Hist. Lib. 9. c. 15.

Argivi poëticæ totius Homero palmam tribuebant, ab eo reliquos omnes secundos ponebant: et si quando rem divinam facerent, in hospitaliis invocabant Apollinem et Homerum.

† Εἰ θεὸς ἐστὶν Ὀμηρος, ἐν ἀθανάτοισι σεβέσθω
Εἰ δ' αὖ μὴ θεὸς ἐστὶ, νομιζέσθω θεὸς εἶναι.

Antholog.

The

purpose of the following essays to attempt any thing of this general kind; the sole drift of which is to clear up some few passages only in his most *divine poem* the *Iliad*: such as others, who have commented upon him before me, and endeavoured to show the propriety, poetical beauty, and aptness of every part of it, have left as ex-

The admiration he was thus held in by the ancients, has left us in doubt of most things concerning him. The contention of the *seven* cities of *Greece* for the honour of his birth has rendered the place of it unknown: and even his name is doubted, that which he now goes by being accounted but *adscititious*. And so many have the accounts of his *life* been, arising from the same *admiration*, that we have hardly any thing to depend upon here: and his life being so little known, a right knowledge of his person could hardly be had: but yet had the ancients *statues* of him as of their *gods*, whose forms no mortal eye ever saw. *Quinimo quæ non sunt finguntur* (says Pliny) *pariuntque desideria, non traditi vultus, sicut in Homero*. And they further erected *Temples* to him as to a *God*.

ceeding their ability or skill to fathom or make out.

Nor is it my purpose herein to undervalue or depreciate the endeavours and labours of former critics and expositors, such as *Eustathius*, Madam *Dacier*, Mr. *Pope*, his friends, and others on this *poem*: which have certainly been very great and ingenious, and tended highly to the clearing up most things in it to the intire satisfaction of the most inquisitive and curious readers.—No, my intention is, after this acknowledgment of their great merit and success in this way, only, I say, to endeavour and try how far those few passages they have left in obscurity, may admit of a proper light being thrown in upon them, and be seen, by this means, to be of a piece with that beautiful whole to which they belong.

It

It has been observed very justly of *Homer*, that he not only transcends all poets whatever, but that he has in this most ornamented poem, out-gone in perspicuity and clearness of expression even all writers in *prose* * : and as this uncommonly easy and happy flow must needs recommend him universally, as the perfectest pattern, and best model in good writing of all others whatever, to imitate and copy after: I think every the least endeavour to clear up any the smallest supposed obscurity or impropriety in this his greatest and most perfect work,

* To this purpose are the following assertions,
 —Ὅμηρος—λέξει καὶ διανοίᾳ πάντας ὑπερέβηκε.
 —*Arist.* de Poët. cap. 1.—Hic omnes proculdubio et in omni genere dicendi procul à se reliquit. *Quintilian.* Lib. 10. cap. 1.—And Dr. S. Clarke in his preface says—*Homericæ eloquentiæ et perpetua et singularis virtus est perspicuitas in carminibus ornatissimis tanta, quantam ne in soluto quidem scribendi genere unquam affecutus est quisquam.*

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cannot but be acceptable ; as it will tend to render him more and more the favourite of the learned world, and the constant exemplar and archetype of all good writing : and the more generally this opinion and pursuit prevails, the better I am persuaded will both the taste and improvement in good writing be.

It is well known that the ancient poets, philosophers, and lawgivers ; tragedians, orators, historians and all other good writers of *Greece* and *Rome*, greatly improved their works and ornamented their schemes, by what they drew from this purest fountain, looking upon his works as a luxuriant garden, whence each might pluck a flower ; or a vast treasure, that lay in common, and of which they might fairly take a little ; or lastly as a most rich mine, from which each might be
allowed

allowed to transfer a gem to enrich their own productions: and the present age may be equally benefited both in sentiment and style by this greatest and original genius more than by all others *:—

Read

* It was said by *Plato* of old that there were no good poets to be found but those who ὀμιλεῖ-
 ζουσιν, that is, follow and imitate *Homer*.—And it is remarkable, says *Rollin*, “ that no nation in the world, however learned and ingenious, has ever produced any poems comparable to his: and that whoever has ever attempted any works of that kind, have taken their plan and ideas from *Homer*, borrowed all their rules from him, made him their model, and have only succeeded in proportion to their success in copying him: and what is most astonishing in this poet is, that he should soar so high, and with such rapidity, at the first flight as it were, as to carry this most sublime and difficult kind of poetry, at once to the utmost perfection: which seldom or never happens in other arts, but by slow degrees, and after a long series of years.” *Rollin's Ant. Hist.* Vol. I. And as to writers in general, it remains undoubted (says *Dr. Lawson* in his *Lectures* concerning *Oratory*) that the whole multitude of
 writers

*Read Homer once and you can read no
more,*

*For all the rest will seem so mean and
poor,*

*Verse will seem prose ; yet often on him
look,*

And you will hardly need another book.

Buckingham's Essay.

In

writers who flourished since, have been much indebted to him :—The critics agree (continues he) in this observation ; and ye yourselves, with little difficulty, may confirm it by instances from all the authors of *Greece*. In the unaffected simplicity of the *first* historian : in the strength of the *second* : in the sublimity of the philosopher : in the ease and sweetness of that other, and in the expressive beauty of a third, you may trace the genius of *Homer*, his sentiments, nay his very words taken by them and fitted to the contexture of their own prose :—Next after the poets this treasure was most useful to the orators, who found here an inexhaustible store of noble and lofty images : and to none was it more useful than to *Demosthenes*—and then goes on and applies it in like manner to the *Romans*—they, he says, particularly the fine poets and writers of

In short, he seems to be the great ocean himself describes, whence all other streams great and small derive their origin—*Ἐξ ἧ μὲν πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πάντα γένηται* *.

And I cannot but observe further, as a conclusion to this section, that the minds and styles of men have not only been thus enriched by the works of *Homer*, but their purses and estates also; and that in their private as well as publick capacities—† *Vetus enim* (says

the *Augustan* age, formed themselves upon *Homer*, or upon the models of the ancients who copied after him.

* *Est enim illa Platonis vera et tibi, Catule, certè non inaudita vox, omnem doctrinam harum ingenuarum, et humanarum artium, imo quodam societatis vinculo contineri: ubi enim perfecta vis est rationis ejus, quæ causæ rerum, atque exitus cognoscuntur, mirus quidem omnium quasi consensus, concentusque reperitur.* Tull. de Orat. Lib. 3.

† Thus translated by Dr. William Wilymott—*For it is an ancient observation, that Homer has given more men their living than Sylla, Cæsar,*

or

(says Lord *Verulam*) *observatio est Homerum pluribus suppeditasse victum, quam Syllam, Cæsarem, aut Augustum, licet tot congiaria, tot donativa, tot agrorum assignationes largiti:—*and is further led by this observation to add—*Certè difficile dictu est, arma an literæ plurimum fortunas constituerint.*

Bacon de *Aug. Scient. Lib. 1.*

or Augustus, notwithstanding their numerous largesses, donatives, and distributions of lands—Certainly it is hard to say whether arms or letters have advanced greater numbers.



S E C T. III.

I AM not only convinced of the *Iliad* deserving the universal character it has obtained of the highest work, and most noble *poem*, that the wit of man has been capable of producing in all preceding ages; but so favourite a *poem* has it always been with me ever since my first acquaintance with it, that I have on every succeeding and most careful perusal of it, looked upon it as not only the most correct and perfect of all others, but as almost faultless*: and
Ho-

* And in this opinion I have the pleasure and honour of finding the learned Dr. S. Clarke on my side—For (says Bishop Hoadley in his *preface* prefixed to his volume of *Sermons*)—Homer was his admired author, even to a degree of something like *enthusiasm*, hardly natural to his temper. In this he went a little beyond the bounds
of

Horace's trite observation—*quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus**—relates, I am fully satisfied, to the *Odyſſey* only: for here he is always awake and attentive; full of propriety, beauty, elegance and ornament in every part †.

He enjoyed the greatest genius perfected by the most consummate art; of Horace's judgment: and was so unwilling to allow the favourite poet ever to nod, that he has taken remarkable pains to find out, and give a reason, for every passage, word, and title, that could create any suspicion.

* Horat. de Art. Poët. L. 359.—*Videtur hic alludere Horatius ad id quod Aristoteles notat, Homerum contra decorum et rationem scribere; Ulyſſem prudentiſſimum utique et vigilantiffimum, ſomno oppreſſum è navi ſublatus à Phœacibus et in littore Ithaceniſi expoſitus. Tum certè Homerus ipſe plùs quàm Ulyſſes dormitâſſe videatur.* Edit. in uſum Delphini.

† To this purpoſe is the character given him by Quintilian—*Hic omnibus eloquentiæ partibus exemplum et ortum dedit. Hunc nemo in magnis ſublinitate, in parvis proprietate ſuperavit. Idem lætus ac preſſus, jucundus et gravis, tum copiâ, tum brevitate admirabilis.*

and

and was in fancy and invention far superior to all others, as well as in acquired knowledge: thus happy in both*, while others may have said *some*, or even many things well, *He* and *He* only, all: in one word, we find in the *Iliad*, all that can be great, all that can be pleasing in poetry, heightened by the happiest and most advantageous language, a language (as *Aristotle* says) of *living words*, and fit for the use of the *Gods*—in short,

* Agreeable to the character given by *Horace*—

Naturâ fieret laudabile carmen, an arte

Quæsitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vendi,

Nec rude quid profit video ingenium; alterius
sic

Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amice.

De Art. Poët.

And says Lord *Verulam*—*Eleganter Plutarchus de rebus Timoleontis longe fortissimi, cum rebus Agefilai et Epaminondæ, qui uno ævo vixerunt, comparatis, dixit: illas Homeri carminibus fuisse similes, quæ cum alias excellent, spontè etiam fluere videntur, et quasi genium sapere. Bacon de Aug. Scient. Lib. 6. c. 3.*

as

as to expression, numbers, and cadence, *Homer* is infinitely superior to all others; and that sweet melodious harmony, which reigns in all his verses, diffuses such graces, as are not to be imitated in any language but the *Greek**: and indeed, according to the observation of *Cicero*, his works are rather *pictures* than poems†; so perfectly does he paint to the life, and set the images of every thing he undertakes to describe, before the eyes

* *Varia dictione usus Homerus ex omni Græcorum dialecto characteras suis poematibus interseruit. Ceterum quoniam ornata oratio à communi consuetudine discedit, unde aut evidentior, aut gravior, aut modis omnibus jucundior sit: et verborum quidem immutatio tropus, sententiarum autem schema vocatur, et horum species in arte dicendi præscriptæ sunt; horum nihil ab Homero prætermissum est, neque aliud quiddam à posteris inventum, quod ille non prius dixerit. Constructionis mutationes quæ σχήματα (figuræ) appellantur, ipse quoque primus invenit. Plutarchus passim.*

† *Tusc. Disput. Lib. 5.*

of the reader *: and he seems to have been intent upon introducing all the most delightful and agreeable objects into his writings, and to make them in a manner pass in review before his readers, to the exquisite satisfaction of their hearts and minds †.

And now after all that has been said, the few supposed defects and irreconcilable difficulties charged upon this most *divine poem*, ought, I think, to be looked upon, (as, I hope, I shall fully evince in the following essays) as being such only in the fond fancies, mistaken opinions, and defective judgments of insufficient readers.

* And now if any one thinks he was born blind, he must be so himself, and even lost to all his senses—*Cicer.*—and *Paterc.*

† This is the *voice* and *melody* which *Themistocles*, the greatest man at *Athens*, is said to have preferred before all others, and to have wished for such an *Herald* of his fame. *Tull. pro Arch. poetâ.* And *Alexander* in vain desired such a *poet* to celebrate his conquests, and eternize his *fame*.

C

And

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And any small supposed errors and defects which some of better abilities have thought that they have espied here and there in this *great poem*, ought, I think, in all favourable construction to be imputed to the first copiers and transcribers of it, and not to the *poet* himself.

And whoever looks over the observations of the commentators and critics on this *poem*, will find that in fact they have also with me formed the same judgment of these supposed errors and faults in this most finished *poem*; by not only rejecting some words and substituting others in their stead, but even by striking out and wholly expunging here and there several lines together, upon proper authorities and by unanimous consent, as spurious and unbecoming the pen of this most *divine poet*.

And

And that something of this kind should arise, as the first copies of the whole work seem to have been put together and made up from the separate parts of the poem, first probably preserved in different parts of Greece, as each considered itself honoured by the illustrious acts therein recorded of their progenitors, or particular and favourite heroes; and hence called *Rhapsodies*: and after these *Rhapsodies* were collected and aptly disposed by some learned hand * in the present and certainly original form †; as appears from

* *Quis doctior iisdem illis temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia litteris instructior quàm Pisistrati? qui primus Homeri libros antea confusos, sic disposuisse dicitur, ut nunc habemus.* Tull.

† In *Iliade* singulis in libris, singulis ferè in paginis quæcunque pugnetur pugna, quæcunque res narretur, tam singulari tamen artificio interseritur et ubique spectatur Achilles; ut planè nullo modo fieri possit, quin uno consilio totum conscriptum fuerit poemà. *Ἐν μὲν τὸ σῶμα, ut rectè Eustathius, συνεχὲς διόλε καὶ εὐάρεμος, ἢ τῆς Ἰλιάδος ποίησις.*

from the great connexion and unity preserved throughout the whole: in-
 fomuch that no one book or confi-
 derable part can be transposed or placed
 in a different form or order without
 great impropriety and confusion *:
 yet, I say, even after these *Rhapsodies*
 were thus happily and judiciously
 brought into their first state and order
 of one uniform and regular *poem*; the
 copies in the way of transcribing books

*Itaque cantilenas istas, non ab Homero sparsim et
 singulatim conscriptas, sed ex Homeri poemate olim
 excerptas et ut loquitur Pausanias διασπασμένας,
 primus in unum doctè recollegit, et sic, ut nunc ha-
 bemus, disposuit Pisistratus.* Dr. S. Clarke in ini-
 tio operis.

* It would be very strange that *Aristotle* should
 form his rules from *Homer's* poems; and *Horace*
 should follow his example, and propose *Homer* for
 the standard of *epic writing*, with this bright tes-
 timony, that *he never undertook any thing incon-*
siderately, nor ever made any foolish attempts: if
 indeed this celebrated poet did not intend to form
 his poems in the order and design we see them
 in. *Fenton.*

then

then in use being but few, more room was left for some particular persons, according to their fancies, to add words, phrases, or even verses here and there, than could ever have been practised, when copies of it became more numerous and general: and this also may fairly be esteemed another source of such like inaccuracies and errors.

These, therefore, I say, ought not in the opinion of any one of sense and learning to be imputed to the poet himself, or reflect the least discredit, on his otherwise most correct and finished work: so correct and perfect, that as he herein gave the world the first plan * of a regular poem, so did he

* *Res gestæ regumque ducumque et tristia bella,
Quo scribi possent numero monstravit Homerus.*
Horat. Art. Poët.

And it may be pleasing to the reader to consider further here that poetry itself could be but a beginning and rising art in his time, since the name

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he at once, in a most astonishing manner carry it to its greatest height: for as we have no traces of any poetical production before it, of so great length, or of so noble a structure or excellent a kind and model, so has no age since, of a poet is not once to be found in all his works: and he certainly wrote the *Iliad* before the day was divided into *hours*, and when men measured it by the progression of the sun only, without the use of *dial* or *clock*: and distinguished the particular parts and times of it by the most usual employments as (*Od.* 12. v. 439.) from the rising of the *judges*: and (in the 11th. *Il.* v. 86.) from the dining of the *woodman*: and the night we find divided into *three watches* (*Il.* 10. v. 253.) — (The *Ἔτη* mentioned in the *Iliad* are the *seasons* of the year.) — And *Greece* should seem to have had no use of written laws in his time, from the word νόμος not being to be found either in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*: and accordingly in the third compartment of *Achilles's* shield, we are told that *two talents* of gold were to be given to the *elders* who pronounced the most equitable judgment: Αἰνῆ is the word used here, and Σέπεια occurs in several places in the *Iliad*: nor was the use of *coined money* known at the time of the *Trojan* war, but one commodity was exchanged for another, as may be seen *Iliad* 7. v. 473.

in the space of two thousand seven hundred years and upwards, been able to shew its equal; nor will all posterity to come probably ever be capable of producing the like: as therefore it has for these reasons always been justly the most favourite and highly admired *poem* of all past ages*, so will it likewise in all likelihood continue to be, as long as the learned languages shall be known, throughout the world, till time shall be no more.

* *Videmus* (says Lord Verulam) *monumenta ingenii, et eruditionis, quanto diutius durent, quàm ea, quæ opere et manu facta sunt. Annon Homeri carmina, viginti quinque annorum centurias, et super, absque unius syllabæ aut litteræ jacturâ, duraverunt. Quo spatio innumera palatia, templa, castella, collapsa sunt aut diruta. De Aug. Scient. Lib. i. sub finem. Cætera, neque temporum sunt, neque ætatum omnium, neque locorum; hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium atque solatium præbent: delectant domi, non impediunt foris: pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.*

Tull. pro Arch. Poët.

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This therefore will be my sufficient apology for endeavouring to illustrate even the few remaining supposed obscurities or seeming improprieties in this *first* and *best* poem : not but several observations will be interspersed of a fuller tendency and more general use.

And the method I shall pursue in this work, will be to obviate, as they arise, such difficulties as the latest commentators and critics, Mr. *Pope* and his friends, have left upon our hands, not only as not solved, but what they esteem not solvable *.

And

* There are many instances in Mr. *Pope's* notes of his leaving difficulties upon our hands, and declaring they cannot be solved, when at the same time, and in one and the same note, he actually gives us the true and sufficient solution; as only advanced indeed by others, though not adopted by himself. Now, as in all such cases, every reader of competent understanding may embrace the true solution, though rejected by Mr.

And I hope these few critical observations and essays contained in the ensuing *treatise*, will be found, together with Mr. *Pope's* and his friends dissertations, observations, comments and notes, to constitute and furnish upon the whole a full and compleat vindication of the *Iliad*.

Mr. *Pope*, I do not think myself bound to clear up these things any further. I only refer persons to Dr. *S. Clarke's* notes, where also they will meet with additional satisfaction generally in these cases. And further, what Mr. *Pope* gives up in one note, he sometimes confirms and fully supports in another, as all who read him may see. Thus for instance, in his note on the 1032d verse of his own translation of the sixteenth book, he gives up the speech of *Achilles's* horse in the nineteenth book as indefensible, and yet afterwards, in his note on the 450th verse of his own translation of the said nineteenth book, he fully supports and vindicates it. More instances might be produced, but the intelligent reader of Mr. *Pope's* notes will easily observe them, and set himself right.—More will occur, of course, towards the latter end of the *fourteenth* section of this Volume.

S E C T. IV.

THOUGH it must be presumed that all who will think it worth their while to peruse these few critical dissertations on the *Iliad*, have made themselves previously acquainted with the *poem* itself, either by reading it in the *original*, or in Mr. *Pope's* ingenious translation, or some other at least: yet as what I have to offer will consist of animadversions upon, and illustrations of, such passages only as Mr. *Pope* and his friends have left in obscurity, the sections of this volume will unavoidably treat of very unconnected and distant parts of the *poem*; and jumping thus from one place to another, sometimes very remote, may chance to leave the reader behind in doubt and uncertainty of
the

the ground we tread upon: to render the whole, therefore, the more familiar and present to the mind and observation of the reader, it will be proper, before I enter upon my intended criticisms and illustrations on the *Iliad*, to prefix here a general, but succinct account of the contents thereof.

Agamemnon, who was appointed general in chief of the allied army of the *Grecians* during the siege of *Troy*, was possessed of a fair captive, *Chryseïs* by name, and daughter of one of *Apollo's* priests: who came to the *Grecian* camp a suppliant on his daughter's behalf, and offered an handsome ransom to *Agamemnon* for her release: but being unsuccessful, and even contumeliously repulsed by him, *Apollo*, at the entreaty of the offended priest, and in revenge of the insult done him by *Agamemnon*, afflicts and lays waste
the

the whole *Grecian* army by a plague. The *Greeks*, summoned by *Achilles*, meet in council, and *Calchas* the *Seer*, encouraged and seconded by him, declares that the plague was sent by *Apollo* as a punishment of *Agamemnon*'s injurious treatment of his *priest*, in not accepting the ransom and releasing his captive daughter: and that therefore in order to appease the *God* and save the army *Chryseis* must be restored. The occasion being so very urgent, *Agamemnon*, though highly incensed, resolves to return his fair and favourite captive to her father: but after first quarrelling most grievously with *Achilles*, who summoned the council and encouraged the proceedings; the next step he takes is to force away from him, in return, his most favourite captive *Briseis*. *Achilles*, highly affronted at so injurious a treat-

treatment, withdraws himself from the army, and obtains of *Jupiter* a promise by the intercession of his mother, the goddess *Thetis*, to revenge him, by making the *Trojans* too powerful for the *Greeks*, and even suffering them to destroy them at the very fleet. In consequence of the will of *Jupiter*, the *Trojans*, under the conduct of *Hector*, drive the *Grecians* from the plain, with so great a defeat, that *Agamemnon*, by the advice of the generals in council, sends ambassadors to *Achilles* to try if they could persuade him, by entreaties and gifts, to return to the camp; but all in vain: he haughtily rejects their prayers and promises, and dismisses them roughly: but afterwards his most favourite friend *Patroclus*, at the instigation of *Nestor*, by earnest and importunate entreaties, obtains leave of him to assist his
 coun-

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countrymen and go against the *Trojans*, and that even in his own armour. The aid of *Patroclus* is at first of very great service to the *Greeks*, and repels the *Trojans*; but he, venturing too far into the plain, is afterwards killed by *Hector*, who strips him of *Achilles's* armour, and wears it himself. The melancholy news of his friend *Patroclus's* death, and loss of his own armour, reaching the ear of *Achilles*, so provokes him, that, in order to revenge these high injuries, he renounces his anger, and, what neither entreaties nor promises could ever effect, returns to the army, and is even reconciled to *Agamemnon*: and, after cloathing himself in his new armour, which his mother *Thetis* brought him from *Vulcan*, he turns at length his spleen against *Hector* and his *Trojans*: and, after several encounters, he pursues him thrice round

round *Troy* walls, and at last comes up with him, and kills him; and then drags him at his chariot wheels in the sight of the *Trojans*; and for twelve days together about the tomb of *Patroclus*: and, having now fully satiated his anger, he celebrates funeral games in honour of his dead friend. And, in conclusion of the *poem*, *Priam* himself, under the conduct of *Mercury*, comes by night to his tent to beg the body of his son *Hector*: which is restored to him for a large ransom, carried back to *Troy*, and honourably interred.



S E C T. V.

PROCEED we now, as proposed, from this general account of the *Iliad*, to consider the particular passages of it, which Mr. *Pope* and his friends have left in obscurity, and that in the order as they lie in the *poem*.

Now the first of this kind, which they and all preceding commentators have been unable to clear up satisfactorily, is that famous one, in the beginning of the second book, of *Jupiter's* sending a delusive *dream* to *Agamemnon*, after *Achilles's* secession, in order to persuade him to draw forth all his forces against the enemy, with a promise of certain victory, and the fall of *Troy* that very day: and this is the passage which *Plato* * in particular so greatly

* Δεῖ περὶ Θεῶν καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν, ὡς μήτε αὐτὸς

greatly finds fault with: and *Aristotle* (Poët. cap. 26.) tells us also that it was thought an impious thing in *Homer*, thus to make *Jupiter* the author of a *lye*.

Mr. *Pope* indeed tells us, “that instead of *Τρώεσσι δὲ κηδε' ἐθήπλει*—which occurs in the latter part of *Jupiter's* speech to the *dream*, the ancient copies had these words—*διδόμεν δέ οἱ εὖχος ἀρεσθαι*—and that *Hippias* found a way to bring *Homer* off by placing the accent on the last syllable but one, *Διδόμεν* for *Διδόμεναι*, the *infinitive* for the *imperative*: which amounts to no more than that he bad the *dream* to promise him great glory.” But *Macrobius* (De Som. Scip. lib. 1. c. 7.) takes off this impu-

αὐτὸς γόητας τῷ μεταβάλλειν ἐαυτὸς, μήτε ἡμᾶς
ψεύδεσσι, παράγειν ἐν λόγῳ, ἢ ἔργῳ. Πόλλα ἄρα
Ὀμήρῳ ἐπαινῆντες ἄλλα, τῷτο ἐκ ἐπαινεσόμεθα
τὴν τῷ ἐνύπνιῳ πομπὴν ὑπὸ Διὸς τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι.

D

tation

tation entirely, and will not allow there is any *lye* in the case. *Agamemnon*, says he, was ordered to lead out *all* the forces of the *Greeks* (*πᾶσιν* is the word) and promised them victory on that condition. Now *Achilles* and his forces not being summoned to the *assembly* with the rest, that neglect absolved *Jupiter* from his promise. Mr. *Dacier* (he also further tells us) takes notice of God's sending in like manner a *lying spirit* to persuade *Abah* to go up, that he might fall at *Ramoth-Gilead*, (2 *Chron.* ch. xviii. v. 20, 21.)—But there is certainly no occasion to use the *Scripture* * in support of this passage:

* I cannot but observe here in general, that greater caution ought to be used, and more respect shewed in citing and comparing passages of Holy Writ with those of our *Author*, than has usually been done. If the *true God* in *Scripture* is sometimes represented, in condescension to our frail and imperfect conceptions, and by way of

for Dr. *S. Clarke* has very justly observed, that what *Hippias*, *Macrobius*, and others have invented, to obviate the notion of *Agamemnon's* being brought under an inevitable deception by a dream from *Jupiter*, are meer idle trifles; for says he, "the whole is
" but a piece of poetical machinery*,
" and

accommodation to our limited faculties, as acting after such a way, manner, and motives as we ourselves are wont to do; be it remembered he is infinitely oftener described as all truth, justice, and perfection: whereas we see *Jupiter*, throughout *Homer's* poem, full of humour, passion, inequality, and imperfection. And indeed the thought of a perfect God never once entered the minds of the generality among the heathens: the many perfections ascribed to the one true God by us being given dispersedly by them to many, who partook at the same time of all the same passions, weaknesses, and humours with themselves

* Note on verse the 12th. lib. 2.—*Πανούδιον γὰρ κεν ἔλοι πόλιν.*—Cæterum quas hic minutias *Macrobius* (in *Som. Scip.* lib. i. c. 7.) aliquæ commenti sunt, quò minus in errorem necessariò inductus fuerit hoc somnio *Agamemnon*, meræ sunt

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“ and only means that *Agamemnon*,
 “ after *Achilles*’s secession, flattered
 “ him-

nugæ. Tota hæc poëtica machinatio, id unum narrat; *Agamemnonem* postquam discesserit *Achilles*, sibi tamen assentatum, sibi somniâsse, sibi temerè finxisse, urbem se *Trojam* illo absente, posse nihilo minus expugnare.

Further, it will be proper here to observe once for all (as it will be of constant use to have it always upon our minds) that all the *divine personages* (in poetical machinery) are *allegorical*: and there are, says *Bossu*, three sorts of them. Some are *theological*, and were invented to explain the nature of *God*: others are *physical*, and they represent *natural things*: the last are *moral*, and they represent *virtues and vices*. These three sorts of divinities, or *allegories*, are sometimes to be met with in one and the same person. And goes on and produces instances of each, as the curious reader may see—B. 5. c. 1.—And further on he tells us, that the *furies* are also *allegorical* persons: and the *Roman Orator* plainly confirms the truth of this.—*Nolite putare, ut in scenâ videtis, homines consceleratos impulsu deorum terreri. Furiarum tædis ardentibus sua quemque fraus, suum scelus, sua audacia de sanitate et mente deturbat. Hæ sunt impiorum furie, hæ flammæ, hæ faces.*—And *Bossu* adds concerning the *manners of the gods*: that they are capable of four qualifications, such as we have given

“ himself with vain thoughts, dreamt,
 “ and rashly feigned, that, notwith-
 “ standing his withdrawing himself
 “ and forces, he could, with his other
 “ remaining confederate troops, take
 “ and sack *Troy*.”

I have only to add, what has hitherto
 been unnoticed, in further support of
 this clear and just defence of Dr. S.
Clarke’s on this passage, that *Agamem-*
non seems to have encouraged himself
 in this thought, and to have wrought

given men. They may be *poetically good*, since
 they may appear in the speeches and actions of the
 divine persons we introduce. They will be *suit-*
able, if we give to these persons such manners, as
 the nature of the things, we represent, requires:
 and if we make a king magnificent and jealous of
 his authority, so we make *fame* a lying and ma-
 lignant goddess. They will be likely, if we
 speak of *Venus*, *Mercury*, &c. conformable to that
 which is reported of them in fable, and which the
 first poets have invented about them. And they
 will be *even* and *equal*, if in a long series we see
 the same character maintained.

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himself up to a full confidence of his being able, with the other remaining forces (exclusive of *Achilles's*) and the aid of *Jupiter*, to overcome his enemies, and even take *Troy*; from the very time of his first falling out and quarrelling with *Achilles*, when he says expressly —

Φεύγε μάλ' εἰ τοι θυρὸς ἐπέσσυται· ἔδε σ'
ἔγωγε

Λίσσομαι, εἵνεκ' ἐμῶ μένειν· παρ' ἔμοιγε
καὶ ἄλλοι

Οἱ κὲ μὲ τιμήσῃσι, μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεὺς,

— Fly, mighty warrior, fly,
Thy aid we need not, and thy threats
defy,

There want not chiefs, in such a cause to
fight,

And Jove himself shall guard a mo-
narch's right.

POPE,

Here,

Here, I say, we see evidently, that he encouraged himself, from the first, in the vain thought of his being able, with the other remaining forces and the assistance of *Jupiter*, notwithstanding the secession of *Achilles*, to effect his purpose, and overthrow his enemies: and as our most favourite and frequent thoughts when awake are most apt to possess the region of our imagination when we are asleep, and fancy has taken full possession of our senses, these flattering notions, thus indulged by *Agamemnon* in his waking hours, made most evidently so strong an impression upon his mind in a dream by night, as to possess him fully with the fond and foolish notion of his routing his enemies, and even taking *Troy* that very day: and the *Poet* only ascribes this dream to *Jupiter*, (from whom all dreams of importance were supposed to descend)

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descend *) allegorically, and by way of *poetical machinery* †, the better to diversify, enliven, and adorn his poem: not *literally*; for what *Agamemnon* says of *Jupiter*, on the *Trojans* breaking the truce and renewing the war, in the *fourth* book (and which he would not have affirmed had he been so lately imposed upon in the *second* by a de-

* Καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν. *Il.* 1. v. 63.
 ———for dreams descend from Jove.———but the interpretation and application of them, in all instances, as well as this of *Agamemnon*, is of men; who are therefore alone accountable for their own fond opinions, delusive conjectures, and frequent mistakes and miscarriages arising from, and consequent upon, them.

† If a poet (says *Bossu*) speaks of the gods in *natural philosophy*, he will give them such manners, speeches, and actions, as are conformable to the nature of the things they would represent under these divine persons. He will say that the god of *sleep* is good, bad, true, a *cheat*, &c. because we have pleasant dreams, and we have offensive ones, sometimes they instruct us, sometimes *deceive* us, very often are vain, &c.—*B.* 5. c. 2.

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lusive dream) will always be found true——

Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ψεύδεσσιν πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἔσσειτ'
ἀρωγός.

*Non enim mendaciis pater Jupiter erit
auxiliator.*

And now what further acquittal can any person, charged with imposing upon another with a *lie*, receive, than this of the supposed injured person's turning evidence in his favour?

And thus is the imputation on *Jupiter* fully removed, *Agamemnon* himself being the witness; and the whole naturally and easily resolved into his own fond, vain, and indulged conceit,

—Φῆ γὰρ ὅγ' αἰρήσειν Πριάμω πόλιν ἡμᾶσι
κείνῳ

Νῆπιος

Putavit

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*Putavit enim capturum se Priami urbem
die illo
Stultus!——*

And thus is the whole plainly only
an *allegory**, what passes in the human
mind

* Thus in the seventh book we find *Minerva* and *Apollo* consulting together, and determining to put an end to the destruction of the *Trojans* by inciting *Hector* to challenge the Greeks to a single combat: this consultation, the poet tells us, *Helenus* the seer overheard, and proposes the engaging in a single combat to *Hector*, as what the Gods advised:—of which account Dr. S. Clarke gives the following solution, clear of the allegory:—*Mibi videtur Heleni oratio, de auditu deorum voce, hoc ipsum velle, utique Hectorem, quæ esset nota et singularis ipsius fortitudo, victoriam sine dubio reportaturum.*—And I think Dr. S. Clarke right in this account, and in dropping the allegory here: nor could any thing be more natural than for *Helenus* thus to advise *Hector*, on finding the Trojan army overpowered, to endeavour to relieve it by the proposal of a single combat—and we are told in the foregoing book (v. 1.) that *heaven had forsook the fight*: and in the beginning of the following book *Pallas* dares not return to the assistance

mind here below being transferred herein by the poet to the *heavens*: and thus in *Virgil* the Gods are introduced as unfolding and interpreting to *Æneas* in a *dream* the sense of *Apollo's* oracle.

And further, *Jupiter's* seemingly approving these things in this and other instances, imports no more, in the *poetic machinery*, than that he has a foreknowledge of future contingent events, and that he suffers * the designs of

ance of the *Greeks* by her counsels only, without leave from *Jupiter*.—And to this purpose, says *Bossu*, the deities do not always act after the same manner. Sometimes they act invisibly and by mere *inspiration*, and this has nothing in it extraordinary and miraculous.—B. 5. c. 3.

* Thus is God, in *Paradise lost*, described as sitting on his throne, and sees *Satan* flying towards this world, and shews him to his son, who sat on his right hand, and even foretells and *permits* his success in tempting *Eve*, first by a *dream* of the night, and afterwards by collusive discourse; and the deceiving both our first parents in the end—

Man

of free agents to take place; but not that he is the real author and sole cause of them*: and by permitting them thus

*Man (says he) will hearken to his glozing lies,
And easily transgress the sole command,
Sole pledge of his obedience: so will fall
He and his faithless progeny: whose fault,
Whose but his own? Ingrate—*

The very turn of expression—Just as Homer said of *Agamemnon*, believing the flattering imaginations of a dream—*Νήπιος*—and not only from this turn of expression, but from his using the phrase of a dream, *stood at her head*, which is evidently translated from Homer's similar one respecting *Agamemnon*; *Στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς*—it appears that he had this passage in view, and copied it in part.

* If a poet speaks of the Gods in *natural philosophy*, he will give them such *manners*, *speeches*, and *actions*, as are conformable to the nature of the things he would represent under these persons. The case is the same in *moral deities*. *Theology* has also its variety. The most sound part of it should say nothing of the Gods but what is good: but it may likewise attribute several passions to them, such as *anger*, *revenge*, *sorrow*, and *the like*. Not that they have any such in reality, but only in con-

thus to take place here, he is even found true to his most solemn oath*, made to *Thetis* at the first, of humbling the *Trojans*, and honouring her son.

And lastly I observe that *Bossu*, the most judicious of all critics, even commends *Homer* here for dropping the plain history, and using an *allegory*:
 “ let the poet, says he, say, that
 “ *Thetis*, disgusted at the affront offered to her son, goes up to heaven,
 “ demands satisfaction of *Jupiter*:
 “ and that this God, to satisfy her,
 “ sends the *God of sleep* to *Agamemnon*,

condescension, and after the language of men, they are said to have such. *Bossu*.

*—Ἐμοὶ δὲ κε ταῦτα μελήσειαι, ὄφρα τελέσσω
 Εἰ δ' ἄγε τοὶ κεφαλῇ κατανεύσομαι, ὄφρα
 πεποίθῃς. Il. 1. v. 523, &c.

*The nod that ratifies the will divine,
 The faithful, fix'd, irrevocable sign;
 This seals thy suit, and this fulfills thy vows.*

POPE.

“ who

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“ who puts the cheat upon him, by
 “ making him believe he shall take
 “ *Troy* that very day.”—And in an-
 swer to this question, when one must
 make use of *machines*, he affirms,
 “ that *machines* are to be made use of
 “ all over, since *Homer* and *Virgil* do
 “ nothing without them. They con-
 “ stantly put their *gods* upon *duty*”
 B. 5. c. 4.

* Many persons have thought that *Horace's* rule—*Nec Deus interfit nisi dignus vindice nodus Inciderit*—held good in *epic poetry* equally as in *tragedy*, and, from this false apprehension, have causelessly blamed many things in *Homer* that are *poetically* good and right.—Mr. *Bossu* will set us right here—“ The use, says he, of the *machines* in the *epopea* is quite contrary to that which *Horace* prescribes for the theatre. This critic would not have them made use of in *tragedy*, but when needs must: and, on the contrary, it is requisite that an *epic poet* should not make use of them, but *when they might be let alone*; and then he should order them so, *that* his actions stand in no need of them. How many *gods* and *machines* does *Virgil* make use of to raise the storm, which casts *Aeneas* upon *Carthage*? and yet this does not hinder

hinder but that this miraculous action may be looked upon as the *ordinary* effect of a mere *natural cause*. He makes one of his personages say, that the cause of this storm, which surprized the *Trojans*, was the rising of the blustering constellation of *Orion*. Upon this the commentators have well observed, that the *poetical gods* can do no harm, unless they have some favourable opportunity of doing it.—*Sciendum quod dii, nisi data occasione, nocere non possint*. It is never to be supposed that there are any storms during the *Halcyon days*. This would be an affront to the power of the gods, by ascribing to them such a force as contradicts *poetical probability*.—B. 5. c. 5.—



S E C T. VI.

TH E next difficulty, standing in need of our solution, occurs in the 150th line of the fifth book; and is as follows.—

Τοῖς ἐκ ἐρχομένοις ὁ γέγων' ἐκρίνατ' ὄνελρος.

“ This, in the original, says Mr. Pope, contains as puzzling a passage, “ for the construction, as I have met “ with in *Homer*.” And preceding interpreters, as well as the learned Dr. *S. Clarke* since*, acknowledge a great ambiguity in these words, arising, as they think, from our not understanding sufficiently the genitis and idiom of the *Greek* language*.

But I own here it seems to me very surprizing, that not only preceding

* Mihi videtur, non utique poetæ, sed nobis jam minùs græcè scientibus, omnino tribuendum.

critics, and Mr. *Pope* and his friends, but the learned Dr. *S. Clarke*, whose professed business it was to write critically upon the *Iliad*, should also think this line so very ambiguous and obscure; when, from a very few observations only, I believe it will be found to partake of that clearness and ease, for which *Homer* is, above all other writers, so justly admired: and this I shall shew and make evident from the genius and idiom of the language itself.

First then, the most primitive, usual, natural, and obvious sense of the verb *ἐρχομαι*, is, *venio, proficiscor*, I come, or go to a place, and this accordingly is the sense that *Homer* himself most frequently uses it in; thus, for instance, in this very book, *Pandarus* says of himself on a similar occasion—verse 198.

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—Γέρων αἰχμητὰ Λυκάων
Ἐρχομένῳ ἐπέτελλε δόμοις ἐνὶ ποιητοῖσιν.

Senex bellator Lycaon [ad bellum Trojanum]

Proficiscenti, mandata dabat in ædibus affabrè factis.— Dr. S. Clarke.

Here *ἐρχομένῳ* undoubtedly signifies his (Pandarus's) going to the Trojan war: and in this sense it is likewise used in the passage before us, as will further appear from the subsequent observations.

The three most obvious and usual interpretations given of these words,

Τοῖς δ' ἔκ ἐρχομένοις ὁ γέρων ἐκρίνατ' ὄνειρας.

are, *Quibus non, ad bellum proficiscentibus, senex interpretatus est somnia.*—

That the old man *Eurydamus* (an interpreter of *dreams*) did not foretel the fate of his two sons *Abas* and *Polyrdus*,
when

when they left him, and went to the Trojan war: or *Quibus nunquam reversuris, interpretatus est somnia*; that he had foretold them by dreams, that they should never return from the war: or *quibus non amplius interpretaturus esset somnia reversis*; that he should not have the satisfaction to interpret their dreams at their return. —But Mr. Pope indeed adds a fourth, peculiar to himself, namely, that the prophet, *his children not returning, sought by dreams to know their fate*: and this interpretation he seems most to approve; but Dr. S. Clarke on the place justly discards it, as being improper and strange*.

These three interpretations of the words of this passage, as considered by

* At verò, says he, cur ante confectum bellum, ut filii reverterentur, omnino expectaret senex; equidem nihil video.

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itself, being the most genuine, natural, and usual, and as such alone deserving our attention; namely, *that the old man did not by dreams foretel the fate of his two sons, when they went to the Trojan war: or that he foretold by dreams that they should never return from the war: or that he should not have the satisfaction to interpret their dreams at their return:* it cannot long remain a doubt which of them best deserves to be followed and embraced, when we consider, that the *adversative particle ἀλλὰ*, which always imports and signifies some contrariety and opposition, follows immediately in the next line, and evidently shews and manifests, that the adverb *οὐκ* in the preceding line must, when considered with this which is part of the period, in all propriety of grammatical construction and good sense be prefixed to

to the verb ἐκείνατο, and not to the participle ἐρχομένοις; and that in order to support the turn of the sentence, and preserve the *antithesis* manifestly contained in it; and, in fine, to make out and ascertain the contrariety and opposition necessarily and very strongly imported by the particle ἀλλὰ in the next line: but all former critics and commentators on the place seem to have only considered the verse under examination by itself, and without comparing it with the following one, which is a part and member of one and the same period: and from this too particular, restrained, and partial view of it, has undoubtedly arisen the difficulty: hence the various and ambiguous senses and interpretations; hence the whole confusion and embarrassment.

Be pleased therefore now only to consider and compare together the two lines as subjoined here, and you will immediately perceive this to be the case.—

Τοῖς δ' ἔκ ἐρχομένοις ὁ γέρων ἐκρίνατ' ὄνειρος
 "Αλλὰ σφέας κρείτερος Διομήδης ἐξενάριξεν.

*Quibus non, ad bellum proficiscentibus,
 senex interpretatus est somnia,
 Verum ipsos fortis Diomedes interfectos
 spoliavit.*

That is, *the old man did not foretel by dreams the fate of his two sons, when they left him and went to the Trojan war; but that they now fell by the hand of Diomed: in thus placing the adverb αἶψα (according to Mr. Pope's and Dr. S. Clarke's first exposition) with the verb ἐκρίνατο, you see the contrariety and opposition that the adversative particle in the next line imports and*
 necessa-

necessarily requires, is made out and supported; but if you place the *adverb* $\delta\kappa$ with $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$, and render the sentence according to the second sense given of the words by Mr. Pope and Dr. S. Clarke; *whom the old man foretold by dreams, that they should never return*; the sentence would naturally and necessarily require that Καὶ μάλα , *et quidem, atque adeò*, or such like conjunctive and correspondent particles should follow in the next line; and then the whole would stand thus; *that the old man foretold them by dreams they should never return from the Trojan war; and accordingly they fell by the hand of Diomed, and returned no more*: but this is not the case, the beginning of the next line, which is a part of the period, being $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ and not Καὶ μάλα : from these observations therefore it plainly and fully appears, as I before

observed, that the *adverb* ἐκ must necessarily be placed before, and go along with, the *verb* ἐκείνατο, as the *antithesis* requires here, in all fair grammatical construction, propriety of language, and good sense: and further, as the whole difficulty has arisen, and supposed obscurity been brought, on this passage by the commentators upon it being greatly at a loss to determine, whether to join the *adverb* ἐκ with the *verb* ἐκείνατο or the *participle* ἐρχομένοις, all this embarrassment is now wholly removed by observing and proving that the *adversative particle* ἀλλὰ, in the next line, necessarily requires and fixes it to the *verb* ἐκείνατο beyond all reasonable doubt or ambiguity; and fully proves the meaning to be, *that the old man did not foretel by dreams the fate of his two sons, when they left him and went to the Trojan war; but that they*
now

now fell by the hand of Diomed, and their fate was known: and thus is the whole cloud, that rested upon this passage, removed and finally chased away, and the sense and meaning of it fully cleared up and ascertained.

And this being the case, the *third* conjectural sense given of these words, both by Mr. *Pope* and Dr. *S. Clarke*, as above, namely, *that the old man would not have the satisfaction to interpret their dreams at their return*, will now appear to be a very forced and unnecessary one, and to stand in need of no further animadversion, or formal answer,



S E C T. VII.

IN the ninth book the *Greeks*, astonished at their late defeat, send *Ulysses*, *Ajax*, and *Phœnix*, in order to move *Achilles* to a reconciliation; who accordingly go to his tent, and endeavour, by offering him great presents from *Agamemnon*, and by making each of them very pressing and moving speeches, to induce him to return to the camp and save the army:—In *Phœnix*'s speech upon this occasion we find the two last lines of the following description (beginning v. 481.) of his tender care of *Achilles* in his infant state, given up by Mr. *Pope* as quite indefensible.—

—Σὲ τοσῶτον ἔθηκα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Ἐκ θυμῷ φιλέων ἐπεὶ ἔκ ἐθέλεσκες ἄμ' ἄλλῳ
οὐτ' ἐς δαῖτ' ἰέναι, ἔτ' ἐν μεγάροισι πάσθαι.

Πρὶν

Πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ σ' ἐπ' ἑμοῖσιν ἔγω γένεασσι κα-
θίσσας.

Ὅψα τ' ἄσαιμι προταμῶν, καὶ οἶκον ἐπισχῶν,
Πόλλαι μοι κατέδυσσας ἐπὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα
Οἶνός ἀποβλύζων ἐν κηπιῇ ἀλεγεινῇ.

*Great as thou art, my lessons made thee
brave;*

*A child I took thee, but a hero gave.
Thy infant-breast a like affection shew'd,
Still in my arms an ever-pleasing load;
Or at my knee by Phoenix wouldst thou
stand,*

*No food was grateful but from Phoenix'
hand.*

Mr. Pope subjoins a note to this translation, in which he says, that in the original of this place Phoenix tells Achilles, that, as he placed him in his infancy on his lap, he has often cast up the wine he had drunk upon his cloaths. "I wish (continues he) I
" had any authority to say these verses
" were

“ were foisted into the text ; for though
 “ the idea be indeed natural, it must
 “ be granted to be so very gross as to
 “ be utterly unworthy of *Homer* : nor
 “ do I see any colour to soften the
 “ meanness of it ; such images, in any
 “ age or country, must have been too
 “ nauseous to be described.”

But Dr. *S. Clarke* has a note upon this very *place*, in which he appears to be of a quite different opinion—*Locum hunc* (says he) *vitio dat Scaliger aliique rationibus, ut mihi quidem videtur, parum idoneis. Πάθος enim in hac re exigua inest non exiguum.*

He thinks, you see, that a very natural and highly affecting *idea* is couched in this little description : and I have further to add, upon the authority of *Homer* himself, that in this very natural and affecting description of the infirmities of *Achilles's* childhood,

hood, he sets forth also what he himself suffered, and patiently underwent for his good in this his infant and *helpless state*; hoping thereby to move him also, in return, to assist him and his other friends in their present *helpless state* and great distress, brought upon them by the superior power of their enemies.—His own words are these—

Ὡς ἐπὶ σοὶ μάλα πόλλ' ἔπαθον, καὶ πόλλ' ἐμό-
γησα,

Τὰ Φρονέων, ὃ μοὶ οὔτι θεοὶ γόνον ἐξετέλειον,
Ἐξ ἐμεῦ ἀλλὰ σὲ παῖδα, θεοῖς ἐπείκελ'
Ἀχιλλεῦ,

Ποιεύμην, ἵνα μοὶ ποτ' ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμύνης.

*Ita tui causâ permulta passus sum, et
multa laboravi;*

*Hæc cogitans, quòd mibi nequaquam dii
prolem perficiebant,*

*Ex me ipso, sed te filium, diis par Achille
Adoptabam, ut à me aliquando indig-
num fatum propulsares.*

Thus

Thus does this passage appear, I say, to contain not only a very natural and pathetic description of what he suffered and underwent for *Achilles* in his infant *helpless state* as for an *adopted child*: but a very strong argument also why he should, in return, take under his protection and help him, his tutor and *adopter*, in his present unhappy calamity, and seemingly approaching destruction:—And further, I observe the epithet to destruction in the *original* is *δεινὰ unworthy*: and he seems *hereby* to intimate a desire that he would not only help him in return of his care of him in his *helpless age*, but would save him also from an *unworthy death* in reward of the *unworthy things* he had patiently bore with, and suffered from, him in his *infirm and drivelling infancy*:—And thus have we in the *text* itself a sufficient

colour and internal reason greatly to soften this supposed coarseness of the idea: and thus is *Homer* fully vindicated from the imputation of an improper, gross, and nauseous description, by this internal proof of its tenderness, propriety, and aptness to excite *Achilles's* compassion in return, and all drawn from the immediately following lines; and thus is *he* found to be the best defender of himself: and in all cases, where it can be had, we shall do well; thus to justify him from his own writings, which I observe to be frequently most highly serviceable to this purpose; and which certainly must be the best comment and explication of his own meaning, and against all supposed improprieties the most indisputable *apology*.
 —In fine as the *sun* which is the eye and light of this lower world is
 best

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best seen by his own *light*, so is *Homer*, the great eye and light of the *poetic world*, best seen, and his meaning most fully illustrated by the display of the light reflected from his own *divine poem**.

* ——— Cui mens divini^{or} atque os
Magna sonaturum, des nominis hujus ho-
norem. Horat.



SECT.

S E C T. VIII.

HECTOR, in the tenth book, promises the two best horses and chariot, in the *Grecian* army, as a reward to any one, who would go as a scout into the enemy's camp by night, in order to learn their posture and discover their designs: and *Dolon*, a man of more covetousness than worth, confiding in his swiftness in running, immediately engages to undertake the hazardous enterprize, but demands the horses and car of *Achilles* as a reward: and by thus confining the general promise of *Hector*, makes it particular, and indeed most extraordinary: his words are these, (v. 319.)

Ἕκτορ, ἔμ' ὀτρύνει κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ
 Νηῶν ὠκυπόρων σχεδὸν ἔλθεμεν, ἔκ τε πυθέσθαι.
 Ἀλλ' ἄγε, μοι τὸ σκῆπτρον ἀνίσχες, καὶ μοι
 ὁμοσσον.

F

Ἡμῶν

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Ἡμὲν τὰς ἵππους τε καὶ ἀρμαῖα ποικίλα χαλκῷ,
Δωσέμεν, οἱ Φορέεσσι νύμφοινα Πηλεΐωνα·
Σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἔχ' ἄλλος σκοπὸς ἔσσομαι, εἴδ' ἀπὸ
δόξης.

Hector (he said) *my courage bids me*
meet

This high atchievement and explore the
fleet :

But first exalt thy sceptre to the Skies,
And swear to grant me the demanded
prize ;

Tb immortal coursers, and the glitter-
ing car,

That bear Pelides through the ranks of
war :

Encouraged thus no idle scout I go,
Fulfil thy wish. — Pope.

Upon which *Hector* promises him,
by a solemn oath made to *Jupiter*, that
he will, according to his desire, make
him, as a reward of his exploring the
enemy's

enemy's camp, a perpetual present of the horses and chariot of *Achilles*, in the following words, (v. 328.)

"Ὡς Φάθ'· ὁ δ' ἐν χερσὶ σκῆπτρον βάλε, καὶ οἱ
ἔμορσε·"

"Ἴσω νῦν Ζεὺς αὐτὸς, εἰργόμενος πόσις·"
Μὴ μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποχήσεται ἄλλος
Τρώων ἄλλα σε Φημί διαμπερὲς ἀγλαΐεσθαι.

*The chief then rear'd the golden sceptre
high.*

Attesting thus the monarch of the sky.

Be witness thou! immortal lord of all!
Whose thunder shakes the dark aerial
hall;

*By none but Dolon shall this prize be borne,
And him alone th' immortal steeds
adorn.*

Pope.

Now here Mr. *Pope* tells us, in a note on this oath and promise of *Hector's*,
"that *Eustathius* says, the ancients
"know not whose vanity most to

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“ wonder at, that of *Dolon* or *Hector* :
 “ the one for demanding this, or the
 “ other for promising it ; and him-
 “ self calls it an extravagance.”

But this passage, I think, admits of an easy defence, notwithstanding the censure of the *ancients*, and Mr. *Pope*'s imputation upon it.

Now as it was a most hazardous enterprise, and such as no prudent person, however courageous, would venture to undertake alone * ; *Hector*, for the better encouragement, makes an extraordinary general promise in the following words (v. 303).—

* We see before that brave *Diomed*, who goes in like manner a scout from the *Grecian* army, chooses first, as a companion, the wise *Ulysses*—for, says he,—

Τέττε δ' ἰσπομένοιο καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰδομένοιο
 Ἀμφω νοσήσαιμεν, ἐπὶ πύρρῳ οἶδε νοήσας.

Blest in his conduct, I no aid require,
 Wisdom like his might pass through flames of
 fire.

Pope.

T/c

Τίς κέν μοι τόδε ἔργον ὑποσχόμενος τελέσειε
 Δῶρῳ ἐπὶ μεγάλῳ; μισθὸς δέ οἱ ἄρκιος ἔσται·
 Δώσω γάρ διΨρον τε, δῶν τ' ἐρίαιχεναις ἵππους,
 Οἳ κεν ἀριεύωσι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

*What glorious man for high attempts
 prepar'd*

*Dares greatly venture for a rich re-
 ward?*

*His be the chariot that shall please him
 most,*

*Of all the plunder of the vanquish'd
 host;*

*His the fair steeds that all the rest
 excel,*

*And his the glory to have serv'd so
 well.*

Pope.

Hector, I say, herein only makes
 an extraordinary general promise of
 the two best *Grecian* horses and cha-
 riot to any one who will undertake,
 as a scout, to penetrate the enemy's
 camp, and learn their designs; hoping,

by this means, it is to be presumed, to induce some vain and covetous person to engage in it; and such an one was this *Dolon*, who undertakes it: hitherto *Hector* acts certainly only the prudent and commendable part: but *Dolon* turned this general promise into a particular and extravagant one, by demanding *Achilles's* horses and chariot, as a reward of the enterprize, which he engages to undertake, upon his solemn oath and promise of granting and confirming them to him: here still *Hector* remains blameless, and the whole vanity of the particular and extravagant demand rests upon *Dolon*, who is the vain person that makes it.

But *Hector*, we find, immediately seconds and confirms his extravagant request by a most *solemn oath* made to *Jupiter* himself:—

How

How now is the *extravagance* of this proceeding charged even upon the poet himself by the *ancients* and Mr. *Pope*, to be palliated?—

I answer, that *Virgil*, whose judgment is so generally acknowledged, seems, by copying this passage, to approve and even vindicate it from all imputation of extravagance; when he makes *Ascanius* promise *Turnus's* horse and armour * to *Nisus*, on his engaging in a like hazardous undertaking: and further, as it was an enterprise so necessary to be performed for the good of the Trojans, and, at the same time, so exceeding hazardous, that nothing but the vanity and covetousness of such a person as *Dolon*, could

* Vidisti quo *Turnus* equo, quibus ibat in armis

Aureus? ipsum illum clypeum cristasque rubentes

Excipiam sorti, jam nunc tua præmia,
Nise.

Æneid. 9.

ever have prompted any one to venture upon it ; it was certainly the proper business of *Hector* thus to take him in his own cue, and even comply with, and confirm by a *solemn oath*, his particular and extravagant demand, for the general good of the *army*, which could be obtained in no other way : and further, as the *oath* he makes of giving him, in reward of his enterprise, his own demand, even *Achilles's* horses and chariot, can only be a *conditional* one, and provided they ever could take them (for they were not yet in his possession); this very condition, I think, absolves, and wholly clears, him from the supposed *extravagance* : nor could *Jupiter* himself be offended at such a *conditional oath*, which was given in so good a cause as the service of his country : and which, should it ever be in his power,

er,

er*, he certainly would, according to the stipulated condition, punctually fulfil; being every where represented as religiously strict to his engagements.

And thus is the poet fully cleared, and finally acquitted of all the imputed *extravagance*.—It were well if those who make such objections, could as readily excuse and save themselves from their vain, nay I had almost said, *impious* attacks upon this most *divine poem* †.

* Which it never was, for his *scout* was taken and killed by *Diomed* and *Ulysses*, which quite frustrated the enterprise—and, therefore, it is that the poet himself says of *Hector's* oath on this occasion—

ὣς φάτο, καὶ ἔ' ἐπὶ ἰορκὸν ἀπώμοσσε.—v. 328.

Thus Hector swore the gods were call'd in vain. Pope.

† Socrates, in Plato, calls Homer ἄριστον καὶ θεϊότατον τῶν ποιητῶν *Ionis* dialogus.—And Plato himself says he wrote as the prophet and interpreter of the gods—ὣς φησὶν ὁ θεός, καὶ θεῶν προφήτης.—*Alcibiad.* b. 2.

SECT.

S E C T. IX.

WE are now come to the eleventh book, towards the latter end of which *Achilles* (who overlooked the action from his ship, and saw *Machaon* carried wounded from the fight in *Nestor's* chariot) sends his friend *Patroclus* to make enquiry concerning the name of the wounded person. *Patroclus*, upon this, hastened to *Nestor's* tent, in order to learn what *Grecian* it was that was brought wounded thither in his chariot: and being now pretty near him, was able, by sight, to satisfy himself that it was *Machaon*.

Nestor catches the opportunity, detains, and recites to him the further misfortunes and distresses of the day, and detains him with a long speech, consisting of an account of some former

mer wars, in which he himself had been engaged, and what passed in *Peleus's* court, the day he and *Patroclus* came from *Phthia*.

His speech itself consists of about an hundred and fifty lines, and appears evidently to be spun out and lengthened, that *Patroclus* might see the more of the distress and misery of the *Grecian* army, and of the most affecting sight of many wounded heroes carried from the battle to the tents and ships, and might be the rather moved to second the design of his speech and request.

But that the reader may not be imposed upon with exaggerated notions of the excessive length of it, be it known that the whole of it may be read leisurely within the compass of *ten minutes*, and when stript of its poetical redundancies may be supposed to

to have been delivered in much less time.

Now Mr. *Pope's* observations upon this speech of *Nestor's* are the following; " It is customary, says he, for
 " those, who translate or comment
 " upon an author, to use him as they
 " do their mistress; they can see no
 " faults, or convert his faults into
 " beauties: but I cannot be so partial
 " to *Homer*, as to imagine that this
 " speech of *Nestor's* is not greatly
 " blameable for being too long: he
 " crowds incident upon incident, and
 " when he speaks of himself, he ex-
 " patiates upon his own great actions,
 " very naturally indeed to old age:
 " but unseasonably to the present jun-
 " cture. When he comes to speak
 " of his killing the son of *Augeas*,
 " he is so pleased with himself, that
 " he forgets the distress of the army,
 " and

“ and cannot leave his favourite sub-
 “ ject, till he has given us the pedi-
 “ gree of his relations, his wife’s
 “ name, her excellence, the com-
 “ mand he bore, and the fury with
 “ which he assaulted him. These
 “ and many other circumstances, as
 “ they have no visible allusion to the
 “ design of the speech, seem to be
 “ unfortunately introduced. And adds,
 “ what tends further to make this
 “ story seem absurd, is, what *Patroclus*
 “ said at the beginning of the speech,
 “ that *he had not leisure even to sit*
 “ *down* : so that *Nestor* detains him
 “ in the tent, standing during the
 “ whole narration.”

Now in answer to this long and
 severe charge, let us consider his
 first position, “ that it is customary
 “ for those who translate, or com-
 “ ment upon an author, to use him
 “ as

“as they do their mistress; they can
 “see no faults, or convert his very
 “faults into beauties.”—Mr. *Pope* certainly stands quite clear of this imputation himself, in his observations on this long speech of *Nestor*’s; and is so far from using his author as a mistress, that he does not deal the common civility towards him that might reasonably be expected by an acquaintance of even a very short standing, or even from an indifferent person, or an intire stranger; but seems here to be quite out of temper, and exceeding perverse indeed: and certainly treats the good old bard, his long intimate, and usually most favourite acquaintance, with great roughness and indignity: nay, he even handles him worse than men of good temper would their very enemies, he actually turns those very circumstances, which are his just
 com-

commendation and reasonable apology, to his blame and dispraise.

And this I shall proceed now to shew particularly: only first beg leave to premise that *Homer* is not apt to make unseasonable speeches, as his censurers pretend; as appears from his very cautiously avoiding them, on proper occasions: thus in the fifth book, when the soldiers are greatly surprized, in the heat of the *action*, at *Æneas's* being suddenly cured of his wounds: he particularly cautions them that they should make no inquiry how he became *cured*, during the hurry of the battle. And we have another instance there of the same kind; namely, when it is necessary for him to make *Minerva* confer with *Diomed*, in order to incite him to go against *Mars* (after she had forbid him to encounter the *gods* in general) he pitches upon a juncture

junction for that purpose, the properest during the confusion of the whole fight, at the instant *Diomed* stept behind his chariot for a breathing while : and more instances might easily be found out were it necessary ; but by what precedes this long speech of *Nestor's*, it is most remarkably evident, that the poet had not, nor could *Nestor* forget himself on this occasion ; for on his seeing *Patroclus* at his tent door, and taking him by the hand, and desiring him to sit down ; he makes him excuse himself, saying—

Οὐκ ἔδος ἐστὶ, γεραιὲ διοτρεφές, ἔδῃ με
 πεῖσεις·

Αἰδοῖός, νεμεσητὸς, ὃ με προέηκε πυθέσθαι,
*Οὐλίνα τῷτον ἄγεις βεβλήμενον ἀλλὰ καὶ
 αὐτὸς

Γιγνώσκω ὁρώ δὲ Μαχάονα ποίμενα λαῶν.
Νῦν δὲ, ἔπος ἐρέων, πάλιν ἄγγελος εἴμ'
 Ἀχιλλῆϊ·

Εὖ δὲ σὺ οἶσθα, γεραιὲ διότρεφές, οἷος ἐκείνος
 Δεινὸς ἀνὴρ· τάχα κεν καὶ ἀναίτιον αἰτιόωτο.

*'Tis now no season for these kind delays;
 The great Achilles with impatience stays.
 To great Achilles this respect I owe;
 Who asks what hero, wounded by the
 foe,*

*Was borne from combat by thy foaming
 steeds?*

*With grief I see thy great Machaon
 bleeds.*

*This to report my hasty course I bend;
 Thou knowest the fiery temper of my
 friend.*

Pope.

You see he refuses here to come into *Nestor's* tent, or sit down, though requested by him to do it; and even adds he cannot comply with his invitation, because *Achilles* impatiently expected his return, and an account of the wounded hero; and, moreover, concludes his reply by telling him

G

that

that he also knew the impatient and fiery temper of his friend *Achilles*.

And *Nestor's* long speech under consideration, immediately follows this of *Patroclus*: so that we cannot suppose that either the poet or *Nestor* forgot themselves, and made use of a very long speech full of digressions and impertinent circumstances, when the exigency hardly admitted even the shortest, without some urgent necessity. Certainly, therefore, the poet had his sufficient reasons for putting so long a speech into *Nestor's* mouth at this juncture: and these will appear, now that I am entering on my answer to Mr. *Pope's* objections, which, as I observed, turn upon those very circumstances, which are, in fact, his just apology and best defence.

The truth is, it became the wisdom of *Nestor*, after he found *Achilles's* send-

sending *Patroclus* to enquire who the wounded hero was, that was brought to his tent, to detain and furnish him with the opportunity of seeing more and more instances of the distress of the *Grecian* army, that he might thereby be induced to move *Achilles's* compassion by the relation still further, and even persuade him to return and fight for his countrymen; or at least permit him to come in his stead, and clad in his armour. But Mr. *Pope* objects to the length of the speech, and “his crowding incident upon incident, and when he speaks of himself, he blames his exultation upon his own great actions, and afterwards the particulars of his wife’s family, and his own mighty feats in the killing the son of *Augeas*; very naturally indeed to old age, but unseasonably in this place.”

I answer the length of *Nestor's* speech, here objected to, shews his great love of his country, and was certainly wisely contrived, as it actually had its effect in moving *Achilles* so far by the representation *Patroclus* made of the distress he saw while *Nestor* thus detained him at his tent door, that although he came not back to the battle himself, yet he permitted *Patroclus* to come in his armour: which, if he failed in persuading *Achilles* to return, *Nestor* had actually advised him to endeavour to effect: and thus was he so far from forgetting the distress of the army, that he is all the while contriving the means of removing it.—And this was the luckiest thing that could possibly be brought about for the public good, and worthy the wise and experienced *Nestor's* art and contrivance.—So that *his crowding*

inci-

incident upon incident in this speech, is greatly to be commended, as it tended to keep *Patroclus* the longer—and his *expatiating upon his own great actions*, and afterwards the particulars of his wife's family, was very wisely contrived, as it served to the same purpose.—And here he very artfully and wisely availed himself of his *age's privilege* in talking, and the reverence due to his venerable person and *character*, in order to detain him the longer—for had he talked in the same manner, and used digressions relating to other persons and things no way related to himself, *Patroclus* might fairly have broke off the discourse, and ventured to return to the plea of his friend's *impatience*, and so have hastened away—but Mr. *Pope* adds “ what tends further to make this story seem absurd, “ is what *Patroclus* said at the be-

“ginning of the speech, that *he had*
 “*not leisure to sit down*: so that *Nestor*
 “detains him in the tent *standing*,
 “during the whole narration.”—

Now this pretended absurdity will be found to turn out also highly to *Nestor*'s credit, if we do but look back to the 645th verse, where the old man, on his first seeing *Patroclus* at his tent door, takes him by the hand, introduces him into his tent, and desires him to sit down; but upon his telling him he came from *Achilles* to inquire who the wounded *hero* was, that was brought to his tent, it became, in all prudence, necessary now (as he had resolved to detain him with a long speech that he might see more and more of the distress of the army) to let him remain standing at the tent door; that he might the better observe the growing misfortune, and extreme calamity
 of

of the *Grecian* army: well knowing that the * sight of the unhappy circumstances of his distressed countrymen, would more deeply touch his soul, than even all the strains of his own rhetoric. So that these formidable objections *now* appear, as I purposed to shew, to be *Homer's* just defence—and best apology.

But after all this censure, Mr. *Pope* seems to be in better humour, and adds, “ it must be allowed that the “ stay of *Patroclus*, was very happy

* Thus, afterwards, what a *multitude* of speeches could not effect, *one* most distressful spectacle, the *sight* of the ascending flames, moves *Achilles* himself to compassion:—Hence that of *Horace*—

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quàm quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.
De Art. Poët.

And hence the practice of the *tragedians* of raising the compassion of the spectators by *visible* representations of misery.

“ for the *Greeks*: for, by this means,
 “ he met *Eurypylus* wounded, who
 “ confirmed him into a certainty that
 “ their affairs were desperate, without
 “ *Achilles*’s aid.”

And continues, “ as for *Nestor*’s
 “ second story, it is much easier to
 “ be defended: it tends directly to the
 “ matter in hand, and is told in such
 “ a manner, as to affect both *Patroclus*
 “ and *Achilles*: the circumstances are
 “ well adapted to the person to whom
 “ they are spoken, and by repeating
 “ their *father*’s instructions, he, as it
 “ were, brings them in, seconding
 “ his admonition.” So that, at length,
 there appears to be, upon the whole,
 consummate wisdom in *Nestor*’s whole
 proceeding, in first detaining him by
 stories relating to himself, family, and
 relations; all which, in regard to his
 age and reverend character, he must
 needs

needs submit to attend to: and next when he had employed and spun out all the time, he could fairly, in this way, to contrive a further delay by carrying his thoughts back to *Peleus's* court, and reminding him of the *sacrifice*, of the instructions he gave *Achilles*, and of those that his own parent *Menoetius* gave to himself on the day they set out for *Troy*, and which exactly tallied with his own present advice, and must needs be most affecting indeed *: and the success

* It may not be ungrateful to the reader to see, at one view, the aim and design of *Nestor's* speech. By putting *Patroclus* in mind of his father's injunctions, he provokes him to obey him by a like zeal for his country: by the mention of the *sacrifice*, he reprimands him for a breach of those engagements to which the gods were witnesses: by saying that the very arms of *Achilles* would restore the fortunes of *Greece*, he makes an high compliment to that hero, and offers a powerful insinuation to *Patroclus* at the same time, by giving

cess of the whole contrivance greatly redounds to *Nestor's* credit: for *Patroclus*, though he failed in persuading *Achilles* to return, yet obtained leave of him, by a pathetic representation of the exceeding distresses of the *Grecians* which he saw and learnt by this delay, to go in his armour and assist his countrymen, which thing * (if he giving him to understand, that he may personate *Achilles*. *Eustathius* as quoted by Mr. *Pope*.

* Here, also, *Nestor's* wisdom is greatly seen, in persuading *Patroclus* to come in his stead, whose goodness of disposition he knew would induce him at least to bring about this for the benefit of his countrymen; agreeable to that excellent temper expressed in the fine eulogy given him in the seventeenth book; *ωἶσιν γὰρ ἐπὶ πάντο μείλιχος εἶναι*, *he knows how to be good natured to all men*: and we find even the captive women, and *Briseis* upon her return lamenting his death next to her husband's and three brothers, whom *Achilles* killed: and this very goodness of disposition and love of others, certainly affords us a further very strong reason, why *Nestor* ventured to keep him so long after he told him the haste he was in, and even added his friend's impatience.

failed

failed in persuading him to come to their aid) *Nestor* had particularly requested of him to effect at the conclusion of his speech; and, afterwards, *Patroclus's* death (who fell by the hand of *Hector*) being told to *Achilles*, he himself returns to the battle, is reconciled to *Agamemnon*, and turns all his spleen against *Hector* and his *Trojans*, and relieves and saves his countrymen.

—Such were the good effects to the common-weal, thus brought about by wise *Nestor's* long well-timed speech and most seasonable advice.—And what the embassy of *Agamemnon* in the ninth book could not effect, this single speech of *ten minutes only* brought to pass.—And thus has *Nestor* the high credit and honour of saving, by his wisdom, the whole *Grecian* army—And thus is the poet acquitted from all imputation, and even shines with new and addi-

additional lustre; the very imputations on this head proving his greatest praise. *Gold* the more it is tried in the *furnace*, the more is it refined and shines the *brighter*.



S E C T. X.

HECTOR, in the beginning of the sixteenth book, having drove the *Grecians* all before, and penetrated to the very fleet, with an intent of destroying it by fire; which the single resistance of *Ajax*, the other princes and warriors being dispersed and wounded, alone prevents, for a time: but the poet tells us (v. 114.)

Ἐκτωρ Αἴαντος δόρυ μείλινον ἄγχι παρασὰς
Πλῆξ' ἄορι μεγάλῳ, αἰχμῆς παρὰ καυλὸν ὅπι-
σθεν.

Ἀνικτὸν δ' ἀπάραξε τὸ μὲν Τελαμώνιος
Αἴας

Πῆλ' αὐτῷ ἐν χειρὶ κολὸν δόρυ τῆλε δ' ἀπ'
αὐτῷ

Αἰχμὴν χαλκείην χαμάδις βόμβησε πεσθῶσα
Γνωὶ δ' Αἴας κατὰ θυμὸν ἀμύμονα, ῥίγη-
σεν τε

Ἔργα

Ἔργα θεῶν, ὃ ρα πάγχυ μάχης ἐπὶ μῆδεα
 κείρει

Ζεὺς ὑψιβεμέτης, Τρώεσσι δὲ βούλετο νικῆν.

*Stern' Hector wou'd his sword; and
 standing near*

*Where furious Ajax ply'd his ashen
 spear,*

*Full on the lance a stroke so justly sped,
 That the broad faulchion topp'd its bra-
 zen head.*

*His pointless spear the warrior shakes in
 vain,*

*The brazen head falls sounding on the
 plain.*

*Great Ajax saw, and own'd the hand
 divine,*

*Confessing Jove and trembling at the
 sign.*

Pope.

Mr. Pope, in a note upon this pas-
 sage, tells us “ that in the Greek there
 “ is added an explication of this sign,
 “ which

“ which has no other allusion to the
“ action, but a very odd one, in a
“ single phrase or metaphor.” —

—“Ο ἄρα πᾶν γὰρ μάχης ἐπὶ μῆδεα κείρει
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, τρώεσσι δὲ βούλετο νίκην.

Which he says may be translated,

*So seemed their hopes cut off by heaven's
high lord,*

*So doom'd to fall before the Trojan
sword.*

“ *Chapman* endeavours (he continues)

“ to account for the meanness of the

“ conceit by the gross wit of *Ajax*,

“ who seeing the head of his lance

“ cut off, took it into his fancy that

“ *Jupiter* would, in the same man-

“ ner, cut off the counsels and

“ schemes of the *Greeks*. For to un-

“ derstand this far-fetched apprehen-

“ sion gravely, as the commentators

“ have done, is indeed (to use the

“ words

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“ words of *Chapman*) most dull and
 “ *Ajantical*. I believe no man will
 “ blame me for leaving these lines out
 “ of the text.”

Now if the giving hard names to any thing, calling it a mean conceit, far-fetched apprehension, most dull and *Ajantical*, are to pass upon us for reasons, we must then give up the turn of expression made use of upon this occasion : but when we consider that the *poet* had before told us that *Jove* had crowned the *Trojans* with success, and that all the *Grecian* chiefs were drove from the battle and grievously wounded *; and that *Ajax*, who now alone bore the whole brunt of

* Οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πάντες, ὅσοι πάρος ἦσαν
 ἄριστοι,

Ἐν νηυσὶν κέαται βεβλήμενοι, οὐτάμενοι τε. 11

Lo ! every chief that might her fate prevent,
 Lies pierc'd with wounds and bleeding in
 his tent.

Pope.

the

the *Trojan* army, was quite wearied out, and not able to sustain the darts thrown upon him; and, moreover, that *Hector* with his faulchion lopped off the brazen head of the only lance he had to trust to; and so deprived him of the only remaining defence of himself and the whole *Grecian* fleet: a wiser person than *Ajax* under all these most alarming and desperate circumstances, and the loss of his, and the *Grecians*, only means of defence, might have fairly thought this an omen and presage of their total overthrow, and that with the lopping off his spear's head, all their hopes and means of redress and safety were all now cut off*: and their fate determined by *Jove*

* We find not only here, in this last extremity, but in many other places of the *Iliad*, the greatest character imaginable given of *Ajax's* bravery: thus, for instance, in the seventeenth book,

Jove himself, and compleat victory adjudged to the *Trojans*—for it immediately follows, that this the only means of their common defence being destroyed, the *Trojans*, on his retreat, instantly threw brands into the fleet, and set it on fire.

Ovid, in the thirteenth book of his *Metamorphosis*, seems well to have understood book, “*Menelaüs*, who sees *Hector* and all the *Trojans* rushing upon him, would not retire if *Apollo* did not support them; and though *Apollo* does support them, he would oppose even *Apollo*, were *Ajax* but near him.—And this is glorious for *Menelaüs*, and yet more glorious for *Ajax*, and very suitable to his character; for *Ajax* was the bravest of the *Grecians* next to *Achilles*.” *Dacier* and *Eustatius*, as quoted by *Mr. Pope*. And further, I observe, towards the latter end of the same book, that *Ajax* is represented, consistently with this character, as alone bringing up the rear-guard, and shielding those, that bore the body of *Patroclus*, from the whole *Trojan* host.—

———*Behind the bulk of Ajax stands
And breaks the torrent of the rushing bands.*

Pope.
understood

derstood the importance of *Ajan's* single defence on this occasion, and accordingly introduces him (when contending with *Ulysses* for the arms of *Achilles*) thus speaking upon this very action—

*Ecce ferunt Troës ferrumque ignem-
que Jovemque*

In Danaos classes—

*Nempe ego mille meo protexi corpore
classes.*

But *Ovid* couples here different substantives to the same verb, as is usual with him in other instances, and is guilty of affectation and conceit; which is not the case of *Homer* in the passage before us: and the taste, indeed, of the ancients, in general, was superior to such quaintnesses. Further—*Menelaüs*, when engaged with *Paris* in single combat in the third book,

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upon his sword breaking in his hand (having discharged his spear before) looks upon all his hopes, of avenging himself on the *adulterer*, as now cut off by *Jove*, and even blasphemes the lord of heaven as the author of his miscarriage—and it is no wonder that in such momentous cases as these, all that happens should be attributed to the will of *Jove*: when we are told at the very entrance of the *poem*, that the whole throughout comes to pass by his will — Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. —

And — θεὸς διὰ πάντα τελευτᾷ.

And — Ζεὺς ἄγαθον τὲ κακὸν τὲ δίδοι.

And it has been the common apprehension at all times of mankind, that whatever befalls them is the *will of God*: hence the common and prevailing way now-a-days of men's calling all things that happen unto them *providences*; surely, therefore, *Ajax*, I say,

say, even supposing him a far wiser man than he really was, may fairly be permitted, when we consider these things, to think that in *Hector's* lopping off the head of his spear, and rendering it useless (which was the only means of defence that remained for himself and all the *Grecians*) *Jove* himself deprived them of all counsel, all redress and safety, and that all their hopes were now cut off, and that the fleet would be inevitably burnt: and *Mr. Pope*, who has disapproved of the turn of this expression, so far as to leave it out of the body of his translation, might fairly have inserted it there, as he has given us it in the note below, without any discredit to himself or author.

*So seemed their hopes cut off by heaven's
high lord,*

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So doom'd to fall before the Trojan sword. Pope.

I have only to observe further—that in the *original* it is said that *Hector*, ἀνιχὲν δ' ἀνδραγὰς lopped off his lance's head: and that *Ajax* knew the work of the gods; and that *Jupiter* ἐνὶ πύλαις κελσέει—hereby cut off all their hopes, all counsel, all means of redress. You see now plainly that there is no playing upon the same word in the *original* in different senses; no quaint pun or idle conceit; but that in the first instance ἀνδραγὰς is used, and in the other κελσέει: and I have accordingly translated them differently, by using the words *lop* and *cut off*: Mr. *Pope* also in his translation uses the same different words, but in his note upon it describes both by one common phrase *cut off*: and herein both he and *Chapman* seem to found their objec-

objection, and call it *a mean conceit*: which indeed it would have been, had the *original* likewise used the same phrase in both places—But this, as I shewed, not being the case, *Homer* stands acquitted; and will be found, as well as every where else, so clear of all imputation of *a mean conceit* here.—

In fine, whoever attacks *Homer* will experience the truth of *Horace's* saying—

—*Fragili quærens illidere dentem*
Offendet solido——

His hero indeed had a vulnerable *part*, but himself is proof all over, and assailable *no where*.



S E C T. XI.

THE next passage in the sixteenth book, standing in need of our defence, is *Patroclus's* insulting speech over *Cebrion*, the charioteer of *Hector*, whom he had killed: for both the *raillery* it contains, and the *length* of it, have been much blamed by preceding *critics*, and are so highly disapproved by Mr. *Pope*, that he is of opinion that out of the six lines, of which it consists, the five last ought to be given up as foisted into the text and strangers, though (he allows) *very ancient*.

But adds, he “ must take notice,
 “ that however mean or ill placed
 “ these *railleries* may appear, there have
 “ not been wanting such fond lovers
 “ of *Homer*, as have admired and
 “ imitated them. *Milton* himself, he
 “ adds,

“ adds, is of the number, as may be
 “ seen from these very low jests, which
 “ he has put into the mouth of *Satan*
 “ and his *angels*, in the sixth book;
 “ where, after the displosion of their
 “ diabolical enginry, angel rolling on
 “ archangel, they are thus derided—

———*When we propounded terms
 Of composition, strait they chang'd
 their minds,*

*Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,
 As they would dance; yet for a dance
 they seem'd*

*Somewhat extravagant and wild, per-
 haps*

For joy of offered peace—&c.

———*Terms that amused them all,
 And stumbled many; who receives them
 right,*

*Had need from head to foot well un-
 derstand:*

*Not understood, this gift they have be-
 sides,*

They

They show us when our foes walk not upright.

We are not much obliged to Mr. Pope for helping us to an anonymous account of imitators of our author in these railleries, when, at the same time, he calls them *mean and ill placed*: but certainly he uses us very ill, when he tells us *Milton* is of the number of his imitators herein; for the speech of *Satan's*, quoted by him from his poem in support of this assertion, and transcribed above, being full of puns upon words, I believe, arose from the false taste of punning, so much in use in *Milton's* time, that even the gravest discourses from the *pulpit* were infected by it; certainly not from our author, who, as well as the ancients in general, had too good sense to introduce puns, the most indefensible of all lownesses, into his most finished poem

poem here or elsewhere. And that he has not done it here, will be best seen from his own words in the speech at length, which is as follows—

ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὥς ῥεῖα κυ-
βισῶ.

Εἰ δὴ περ καὶ πόντῳ ἐν ἰχθυόεντι γένοιτο,
Πολλὰς ἂν κορέσειεν ἀνὴρ ὅδε, τήθεα διφῶν,
Νηὸς ἀποθρώσκων, εἰ καὶ δυσπρόμελος εἴη.

Ὡς νῦν ἐν παδίῳ ἐξ ἵππων ῥεῖα κυβισῶ.

Ἢ ῥα καὶ ἐν Τρώεσσι κυβισιγῆτες ἔασι.

*Good heavens! what active feats you
artist shows.*

*What skilful divers are our Phrygian
foes!*

*Mark with what ease they sink into the
sand!*

Pity! what all their practice is by land.

Pope.

Now the word κυβισῶ, on which the jest turns, is always used in *Homer*
in

in the sense of *diving*, but in the instance produced from *Milton*—

—*When we propounded terms*

Of composition.—*Composition* evidently signifies the combustible materials, of which the *gunpowder* was made up; or terms of *composition* of peace; which is a gross playing upon the *same word* in *different senses*, and the rankest *pun* imaginable: and the word *stumble* is likewise used afterwards in different and ambiguous senses: so that in short the whole speech is altogether made up of a *string of puns*. Now what parallel can be found between these indefensible *puns*, and our author's sarcastical jests?

But Mr. *Pope*, in his note upon it, further blames it for its length of six lines, and thinks it ought to consist only of one *, namely, the first; and that

* How come we to have a speech of a single line

that the five last verses were added by some ancient *critics* or *rhapsodists*; and yet instead of one, he has given us a translation of it made up of four lines, which is two thirds as long as the *original*; so inconsistent is his practice with his principles; but in this he shewed some respect to his author, and had he shewn more, and lengthened his description to two lines further, as it is in the *original*, both he and his author, I believe, might be easily defended: for the sarcasms and severe taunting jests on dying persons are certainly founded on the man-

line recommended to us here? when himself will not translate one, near the latter end of the sixth book spoken by *Paris*, of two lines; because he tells us it is a *short one*, containing only these words: *brother, I have detained you too long, and should have come sooner as you desired me.* This, he adds, and some few others of the same nature in the *Iliad*, the translator has ventured to omit, expressing only the sense of them.

ners of the times, when a spirit of revenge and cruelty reigned throughout the world, when no mercy was shewn but for the sake of lucre; when the greatest princes were put to the sword; and their wives and daughters made slaves and concubines: and the poet, who is seen to be so careful and exact in observing and describing all the other customs and manners of the age he writes of, cannot be supposed to fail and deceive us here: and further, these taunting and insulting speeches *, were several of them probably

* *Rapin* says, moderation and justice were virtues unknown in these dark times, of which *Homer* writ—and from hence must it come that we find, in the sixth book, *Agamemnon*, whose character seems to me (though he set off unluckily with his quarrel with *Achilles*) to be, upon the whole, equal to any in the *Iliad*, dissuading *Menelaüs* from having compassion on *Adrastus* (suppliant at his feet for life, with promises of most rich gifts, and whom he was inclined to save) in the following words—

bably spoken on the occasions, as we find so many over dying persons through

—Ω πέπον, ὦ Μενέλαε, τίη δὲ σὺ κήδεαι αὐτῶς
 Ἀνδρῶν; ἢ τοὶ ἀριστα ποιοίηαι κατὰ δίκην,
 Πρὸς Τρώων τῶν μήτις ὑπέκφυγοι αἰπὸν ὄλι-
 θρον
 Χεῖρας δ' ἡμετέρας μὴδ' ὄνινά γὰς ἐρί μῆτηρ
 Κέρον ἰόντα φέροι, μὴδ' ὅς φύγοι· ἀλλ' ἔλα
 πάντες
 Ἴλις ἐξαπολοίατ', ἀκήδεσσι καὶ ἀφαστοί·
 "Ὡς εἰπὼν ἔτρεψεν ἀδελφεὺς Φρύγιος ἦρας,
 Αἰσῖμα παρρηίων.—

O mollis, ὦ Menelaë, cur nam verò tu soli-
 citus è sita de servandis

Hominibus? Certè tibi optimè res gesta est
 domi,

Per Trojānos : quorum nullus effugiat grave
 exitium,

Manusque nostras : ne quidem quem in sinu
 mater

Infantem existentem gestet, ne is quidem effu-
 giat : sed simul omnes

Ex Illo fanditus pereant, inhumati & prorsus
 disperditi.

Sic locutus immutavit fratris mentem heros.

Retta admonens.—I say this speech must arise
 from the manners of the times, as it comes from
 one of the first and best heroes of the poem;
 and

throughout the *poem*, besides these of *Patroclus* over *Cebrion* as a diver, and *Æneas's* over *Meriones* for his skill in dancing in this very book; and *Idomineus's* over *Othryoneus*, who fought *Cassandra's* love, in the thirteenth book *: which last is as full of cruelty and gayety, and of greater length than this of *Patroclus's*, and, indeed, falls equally under Mr. *Pope's* censure on these accounts: but an answer to all will fairly arise from these reflections, as being founded, I say, in the manners of the times, and probably spoken on the occasions: for I observe further, that *Homer* seems, by the va-

and as *Homer* (who every where discards, and highly censures all cruelties and indignities, that exceed due bounds) himself commends this advice as good and right.

* And there are four other sarcaistical speeches following hard upon each other in the fourteenth book, viz. of *Polydamas*, *Ajax*, *Acamas*, and *Peneleus*.

riety

riety of incidents, with which he every where abounds, and of deaths, and speeches over dying persons accommodated to these circumstances, to have copied after nature, and facts that really happened; and that these, as well as the *characters* of his *heroes*, had a foundation in known histories, or traditions brought down to his times: and these accounts might be preserved, partly among *Trojan*, and partly among *Græcian* families: and the way of fighting, then in use, being so slow and observable, every thing that passed in the several battles, might be particularly noted; and in all instances of single engagements, even *Diaries* might be kept of those signal enterprises, and of the circumstances and speeches attending them, and even come down to the *poet's* * time: and all this is

* He seems, indeed, to have wandered over
I many

rendered more and more probable from the consideration that no two heroes, throughout the *poem*, die of the same wound and in the same manner: and though half the *Iliad* consists of battles, they are all of a different cast: since such a variety as this could never arise from the *poet's* invention only, but must be accounted for from received facts; the whole,

many of the places he mentions, and to have visited the *native soils* of the greater part of his *heroes*; where he might hear their stories from their subjects and descendants: they would not fail to tell them with all the miraculous aggravating incidents, which their love to their chiefs and the warmth of their fancies could inspire: and we all know how carefully such traditions are preserved, and faithfully handed down to the young branches of a warlike family.—*Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer. sect. 12.*—

And what renders these observations the more probable, is, that the story of the ten years siege of Troy, and of *Achilles's* anger in the last year, really happened; and, in general, that his account of the people, princes, and countries, is purely historical, and true in fact.

there-

therefore, I conclude, may fairly be resolved into, and have a foundation in, true history; or, where this fails, certainly in the real manners of the times:—And these manners, though objected to by some, were in the opinion of a late most judicious writer, the properest that could be for the purposes of poetry.—For “so simple, “says he, and unaffected were the “manners of those times, that the folds “and windings of the human breast “lay open to the eye: people were “not as yet taught to be ashamed of “themselves, and their natural appetites, nor, consequently, to dissemble them: they made no scruple “of owning the inclinations of their “heart, and openly indulged their “passions, which were entirely void “of art and design. This was *Hom- mer’s* happiness with respect to the

“manners and *living part* of the poetry.—And adds a little further on—
 “that he had the good fortune to see
 “and learn the *Grecian* manners, at
 “their true pitch and happiest temper
 “for verse—had he been born much
 “sooner, he could have seen nothing
 “but nakedness and barbarity: had
 “he been much later, he had fallen
 “either in the times of peace, when
 “a wide and settled policy prevailed
 “over *Greece*: or in *general wars*,
 “regularly carried on by uncivilized
 “states, when private passions are
 “buried in the common order, and
 “established *discipline*.”



S E C T. XII.

THE death of *Patroclus* follows that of *Cebrion* in this book, and is related in the following manner: *Achilles* had enjoined him, after driving the *Trojans* from the fleet, to content himself and return; but he neglecting these instructions, pursues the enemy along the plain with great ardor and intrepidity, even to the walls of *Troy*; where *Apollo* disarms him, *Euphorbus* wounds him; and *Hector*, last of all, kills him: on which account of his death, Mr. *Pope* passes the following censure. — “ I sometimes, “ says he, think I am, in respect of “ *Homer*, much like *Sancho Pancha* “ with regard to *Don Quixote*. I “ believe, upon the whole, that no “ mortal ever came near him in wisdom,

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" dom, learning, and all good qua-
 " lities. But, sometimes, there are
 " certain starts which I cannot tell
 " what to make of; and am forced
 " to own that my master is a little
 " out of the way, if not quite beside
 " himself. The present passage of the
 " death of *Patroclus*, attended with
 " so many odd circumstances to over-
 " throw the *hero* (who might, for all I
 " can see, as decently have fallen by
 " the force of *Hector*) are what I am at
 " a loss to excuse, and must, indeed,
 " (in my own opinion) give up to the
 " *Critics*,"

Now as I have observed in the pre-
 ceding section, that not only the his-
 tory itself, and principal actions of the
Iliad, but even the incidents, deaths,
 and last speeches, had very probably
 many of them a foundation in real
 facts; why might not the death of

Patroclus be, in like manner, actually attended with the several circumstances related here by the poet?—But Mr. *Pope* says, he thinks he might (for all he can see) as decently have fallen by the hand of *Hector* only: to which I reply, I can see no indecency in his falling in the way he does; by *Apollo's* disarming him, *Euphorbus* wounding him, and *Hector* killing him: if the account, indeed, be less honourable to *Hector*, it is certainly more honourable to *Patroclus*, whom *Jupiter*, *Fate*, and *Apollo*, seem all to have purposely crowned with a death from above, and not suffered to fall by a single mortal hand: and thus much he intimates in his dying speech to *Hector*—v. 844.—

Ἦδη νῦν, Ἑκτορ, μέγ' εὖχ' εἶπες σοι γὰρ
ἔδωκε

Νίκην Ζεὺς Κρονίδης, καὶ Ἀπόλλων, οἳ μ'
ἰδαμάσσαν

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Ῥηιδίως αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ὤμων τεύχε' ἔλοντο.
 Τοῖσ' τοὶ δ' εἶπερ μοι εἰκόσιν ἀντεβόλησαν,
 Πάντες ἂν αὐτόθ' ὄλοντο, ἐμῷ ὑπὸ δα-
 μένῃς·

Ἀλλὰ με Μοῖρ' ὀλοή, καὶ Λητῆς ἔκτανεν υἱὸς,
 Ἀνδρῶν δ' Εὐφορβος· σὺ δέ με τρίτος ἐξεναρῖζεις.

*Vain boaster! cease, and know the
 powers divine;*

*Jove's and Apollo's is this deed, not
 thine:*

*To heaven is ow'd, whate'er your own
 you call,*

*And heaven itself disarmed me e'er my
 fall.*

*Had twenty mortals, each thy match in
 might,*

*Oppos'd me fairly, they had sunk in
 fight;*

*By Fate and Phœbus was I first over-
 thrown,*

*Euphorbus next, the third mean part
 thy own.*

Pope.
 You

You see he attributes his fate to the will of *heaven* only, and declares that twenty mortals of *Hector's* valour, would have sunk under his spear: such superiority do the well-tempered divine * arms of *Achilles*, and the ardor of the cause he was now engaged in, of saving the *Grecian* fleet and army, and the consternation he had thrown the routed *Trojans* into, by appearing in the said armour, and all by the appointment and will of *Jove* †, seem to have given him.

But further, as I observed above that the incidents attending his death

* They were made by *Vulcan*; and given by the gods to *Peleus*, and by him to *Achilles*.—Il. 17.—And we find, afterwards, in the same book, that upon *Hector's* putting on the said armour (which he despoiled *Patroclus* of)

*Througħ all his veins a sudden vigor flew,
And Mars himself came rushing on his soul.* Pope.

† *Jupiter* himself decrees and foretells these things to *Juno*.—Il. 15. v. 64 and 65.—

might

might really have happened, and that by the will of *Jove*—I shall now endeavour to illustrate this more fully by the following observations.—As this *action* fell on a summer's day, and in the heat of the sun now upon the decline after mid-day *, and as it appears

* Ὅφρα μὲν ἥλιος μέσον ὕρανόν ἀμφιβεβήκει,
Τόφρα μάλ' ἀμφοτέρων βέλε' ἤπλετο πύλη
 δὲ λαός.

Ἦμος δ' ἥλιος μελενείσσειο βελυγόνδε,
Καὶ τότε δὴ ῥ' ὑπὲρ αἴσαν Ἀχαιοὶ φέρεροι
 ἦσαν.

*Quamdiu autem sol medium cælum ascendebat,
Tamdium valde utrosque tela attingebant; cade-
batque populus.*

*Cum verò sol transibat ad occasum,
Et tum quidem præter fatum Achivi superiores
 erant :*

Dr. S. Clarke.

And that it was a summer's day, appears from the flies being busy about the body of *Patroclus*. Il. 19—" And Mr. *Pope* tells us (Il. 13. v. 1037) " it appears to have been the *summer* season, in " which the actions of the *Iliad* happened, from " the frequent mention made of clouds of dust: " though, as he rightly adds, the same might " be

pears that *Patroclus* had, in the morning before, greatly exerted himself, and by his excessive ardor in driving from the fleet, pursuing, and destroying the *Trojans* along the plain, heaps upon heaps, and even continuing the violence and fury of the action beyond mid-day, towards the walls of *Troy*, wrought himself up to an extraordi-

“ be discovered full as well from common sense,
 “ the summer being the natural season for a
 “ campaign. But observes further, that the
 “ fields are described flowery, Il. 2. that the
 “ branches of the tamarisk-tree are flourishing,
 “ Il. 10. that the warriors sometimes wash them-
 “ selves in the sea, Il. 10. and sometimes refresh
 “ themselves by cool breezes from the sea, Il. 11.
 “ that *Diomed* sleeps out of his tent on the ground,
 “ Il. 10. that *Apollo* covers the dead body of *Hector*
 “ with a cloud to prevent its being scorched,
 “ Il. 23. As to the precise time of the summer,
 “ he adds—the mention of the new made *honey*
 “ (Il. 11.) shews it must be near the end of the
 “ summer, *honey* being seldom taken till that
 “ time: and the *plague* raging, in the first book,
 “ shews it to be near autumn, when the heat is
 “ greatest.”

nary

nary degree of heat, which the continuance of the sun, now declining to the west, and casting his rays directly and fully between his shoulders as he now approached the walls of *Troy* eastward, must no doubt have greatly added to and encreased: and every muscle being now swelled and distended, and his fermented spirits even striving to enlarge themselves; why might not his *captain's heart* (as *Shakespeare* speaks) *in the scuffle of this great fight burst the buckles* of his armour: or in the language of poetry, *Apollo* himself who pierced him from morning even till his decline with his rays, and continually stirred up the hot contention within him, more and more, be said to *burst his armour*: and the very account the *poet* gives of his exerting himself at this juncture in an uncommon manner, and rushing with unheard

heard of fury and impetuosity on the
Trojans, who were now superior, and
had drawn the body of *Cebrion* forth
from the battle, even prepares us to
expect something of this kind might
happen—his words are—

Τρεῖς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρθεσε, Θούῃ ἀτάλαντος
Ἀρηϊ,

Σμερδαλέα ἰάχων· τρεῖς δ' ἐννέα Φῶτας ἔπεφ-
νεν.

Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμον
ἶσος,

Ἐνθ' ἄρα τοι, Πάτροκλε, φάνη βιότοιο τε-
λεύτη.

*Thrice on the press like Mars himself he
flew,*

*And thrice three heroes at each onset
slew.*

*There ends thy glory! there the fates
untwine*

*The last black remnant of so bright a
line.*

Pope.

And

And the very description which follows in *Homer*, favours the conjecture, that by *Apollo* is meant the action of the rays of the sun, now declining and falling full upon his back; for the poet has it—

————— Φοῖβος —————

Στῇ δ' ὀπίθε, πληῖζε, δὲ μετὰφρενον, εὐρεβ
τ' ὤμω

Χεῖρὶ καταπρηνεῖ.—v. 791, &c.

————— *Apollo* —————

*Stetit autem à tergo, percussitque inter-
scalpium, latoſque humeros,
Manu pronâ :—Dr. S. Clarke.*

And the continued force of the sun, now falling more direct upon his back, together with the exceeding heat and contention of the *action*, having burst his armour; it was very natural (as every one would be emulous of the honour of wounding and killing him) for *Euphorbus* who stood near him to snatch the opportunity of wounding him

him in the back : but it follows that he dared not face him, though naked, but pulled his spear out from his body, and ran and mixed himself with the crowd : and now *Hector*, seeing him naked and wounded, assails and pierces him with his spear in the lower part of his belly, and kills him.

Now all this, I say, may be accounted for in a natural way only, as having really happened in the very manner and order it is related, and all by the will of *Jove* : as we are taught by the moral running throughout the poem that every thing besides likewise does.—And thus, in fine, is *Homer*, I think, fully vindicated in his account of this action, particularly and fully ; and is now even seen, by the light reflected from his own poem, so far from being, as Mr. *Pope* told us above, *a little out of the way*, or even quite beside himself:

self: that he appears evidently, in the whole of this description, to have given, which he of all men best knew how to do, a very fine and poetical turn (as he is frequently observed to do throughout the *poem*) to an incident arising from natural causes * only,

* Thus, for instance, when *Patroclus* is laid on his funeral pile, a strong gale of wind arose, (Il. 23.) blew, and so encreased the flame, that it soon consumed the pile. But *Homer*, likewise, *here* introduces the *gods* of the winds in person; and *Iris*, or the rainbow, being (as *Eustatbius* observes) a sign not only of showers, but of winds, he makes them come at his summons.—*Pope*.
—And thus again—*Sarpedon*, whom history reported to have been buried in *Lycia*, on his being killed, in the sixteenth book, the *poet* tells us that *sleep* and *death* convey his body to his native land.

And thus in the tenth book, after *Ulysses* and *Diomed* had killed *Rhesus* and his *Thracian* officers, and seized the famous horses of that prince towards the latter end of the last watch of the night; the *poet* tells us *Apollo* waked the *Trojans*, which is certainly only an *allegory*, signifying that the light of the morning awakened them; as *Eustatbius* has also observed.

under

tinder the permission indeed, and in subserviency to, the will of *Jove*.

So that you see it is not a little envenomed scandal, nor a few random shot, that can blast or deface the credit of *Homer*: his character is founded like a rock, and not assailable, like *Patroclus*, by a mortal hand, nor even by *Apollo*, *Fate*, and *Jupiter* himself. —

— *Nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere
vetustas.*

Ovid. *Metam.* lib. 15. sub finem.



S E C T. XIII.

WE are now come to the eighteenth book, where we find that the fight of *Achilles*, only appearing on the rampart, turns the fortune of the day, and that the *Greeks*, the *Trojans* now shrinking back with fear, carry off the body of *Patroclus* from the field of battle.—Moreover, in this consternation they call a standing council in the plain, in which *Polydamas* the *seer* advises them to return to *Troy*, and line the gates and walls with their forces—for, says he, if *Achilles*—

—“ Ἀμμε κινήσεται ἐνθάδ’ ἔοντας
 Αὔριον ὀρμηθεὶς σὺν τεύχεσιν, εὖ νύ τις αὖ-
 τὸν
 Γνώσεται ἀσπασίως γὰρ ἀφίξει· αἶψ’ ἴλιον ἰρήν,
 ὅς κε φύγη.—”

If

If but to morrow's sun behold us here,
That arm, those terrors, we shall feel,
not fear:

And hearts that now disdain, shall
leap with joy,

If heaven permits them then to enter
Troy. Pope.

Mr. Pope in his note upon this passage observes, that "*Polydamas* says,
" in the original, if *Achilles* comes in
" his armour—and adds—there seems
" to lie an objection against this passage,
" for *Polydamas* knew that
" *Achilles's* armour was worn by *Hector*,
" he must also know, that no
" other man's arms could fit him:
" how then could he know that new
" arms were made for him that very
" night? Those who are resolved to
" defend *Homer*, may answer, it was
" by his skill in prophecy; but this to

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“ me seems to be a *slip* of our author’s
 “ memory, and one of the little *nodes*
 “ which *Horace* speaks of.”

His objection, you see, is founded in the word *ἄμνησις* σου τέχεσιν, his foretelling that *Achilles* would come in his armour; whereas it should have been translated would come with arms:—but does not think it a sufficient solution to say that *Polydamas* knew, by his skill in *Prophecy*, that his mother, the goddess *Thetis*, would bring him, by that time, new made arms from *Vulcan*:—nor, indeed, is there any occasion to have recourse to so uncertain a solution * as this, for the phrase

* There is no authority, from the text, to think that *Polydamas* had a supernatural knowledge and foresight of things to come; for this notion of his skill in *prophecy* must be wholly founded in the character given of him—verse 250.

—Ὁ γὰρ οἷος ὄρα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω.

—skill'd to discern the future by the past.

Pope.
 And

ἐρμηθεὶς σὺν τεύχεσιν may, as I observed, signify no more, than that he

And from this prudent observation of the natural course of things was he found to be *wise in council*, as it follows—*μύθοισιν ἐνίκᾳ*—(v. 253.) nor can recourse be had to his skill in *augury* here; none being given from *above* on this occasion. *Agamemnon*, on the contrary, (which confirms this observation) in the first book, on his quarrel with *Achilles*, which was of such terrible consequence to the army, has the direct opposite character given him—

Οὐδὲ τι οἶδε νοῆσαι ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω,
 "Οππως οἱ παρὰ νηυσὶ σοοὶ μαχέοντο Ἀχαιοί·
Unskill'd to judge the future by the past,
Blind to himself, and useless to his host. Pope.

And in book the *third* the same phrase signifies only a natural divination arising from prudent observation—

Αἰεὶ δ' ὀπλοῦρων ἀνδρῶν φρένες ἡερέθονται
 Οἷς δ' ὁ γέρων μέλεισιν, ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω
 Λεύσσει, ὅπως ὅχ' ἄριστα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι γέ-
 νηται.

———*Youth is an empty wavering state:*

Cool age advances venerably wise,
Turns on all sides its deep discerning eyes;
Sees what befall, and what may yet befall,
Concludes from both, and best provides for all.

Pope.

would come forth with *arms* ; in his *chariot*, for instance, with a *shield*, *sword*, and *spear* ;—part being put for the whole ; a very common figure in *rhetoric*, and in frequent use among the *poets* :—and these arms may fairly be implied in the general term ταυ-
χεσιν, and the chariot is expressly mentioned towards the conclusion of *Polydamas's* speech——

——Τῷ δ' ἁλγιον, αἶν ἐθέλησιν.

Ἄψ πάλιν εἶς ἐπὶ γῆας, ἐπεὶ κ' ἐριούχενας
ἵππους

Παντοίῃσ' ἀρόμεν ἄσῃ ὑπὸ πτόλιν ἡλασκαίζων.

*Let the fierce hero then when fury calls,
Kent his mad vengeance round our rocky
walls,*

*Or fetch a thousand circles round the
plain,*

*Till his spent courfers seek the fleet
again.*

Pope.

And

And further, that he means only that he would return with these remaining, or procurable arms, appears fully from his saying, v. 267.

Νῦν μὲν ὥς ἀπέκασσε ποδῶκεα Πηλείωντα
'Αμειροσίνη.——

*The night now only prevents his returning instantly to battle:—*And further, it is, on the other hand, observable in this very speech of *Polydamas*, and the following one of *Hector* in answer to it, that the being clad in *compleat armour*, is expressed by the additional and very strong word, *θωρηχθέντες* (v. 277, and 303.) *armis instructi*; a word which frequently, throughout the *Iliad*, signifies, even alone, the going forth to battle compleatly armed*:—*Achilles* being said there-

* Thus for instance—Il. A. v. 226.—

——'Ες πόλεμον ἄμα λαῶ θωρηχθῆναι,

therefore only to *come forth with arms*, not *in armour*, seems here, I observe, to be used in a restrained sense, and to signify no more than that he would come forth, on the morrow, in his chariot, with a shield, sword, and spear:—the chariot was brought back immediately after the death of *Patroclus* by *Automedon*: and he might easily procure a shield and a sword, and *Patroclus* we are expressly told in the sixteenth book, when he put on the divine armour of *Achilles*, left his spear behind *, as too weighty to be poised

And II. B. v. 11.—

Θωρήξαι ἔκλευε καρηκομῶνας Ἀχαιοὺς
δε. δε. —

* Ἐγχοσ δ' ἔκ' ἔλετ' οἷον ἀμύμονος Αἰακίδαο,
Βριθὺ, μέγα, σιβαρόν· τὸ μὲν εἰ δύνατ' ἄλλος
Ἀχαιῶν

Πάλλειν, ἀλλὰ μιν οἷος ἐπίσασθαι πῆλαι
Ἀχιλλεύς·

Πηλιάδα μελίην, τὴν πατρὶ φίλῳ πόρε Χεί-
ρων

poised by any hand but *Achilles's* alone:—and this was a fact well known to *Polydamas* and all others:—and this very *spear* which kept the *Trojans* nine years within their walls, and was so fatal to so many heroes, and dreaded even by brave *Hector* himself (Il. 22.) seems to be principally in his thoughts on this occasion: and it is quite natural to men under a *panic*, thus to terrify themselves with the very worst apprehensions, without taking time to recollect the more favourable circumstances attending their case:—and further, as the bare thought that *Achilles*

Πηλὶς ἐκ κορυφῆς, Φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσσιν.

Il. 16. v. 140, &c.

*Alone, untouch'd, Pelides' jav'lin stands,
Not to be pois'd but by Pelides' band;
From Pelion's shady brow the plant entire
Old Chiron rent, and shap'd it for his fire;
Whose son's great arm alone the weapon wields,
The death of heroes, and the dread of fields.*

Pope.

sees

sees them, checked their ardor and pursuit, in the thirteenth book; and the *fight* of his *armour* and *chariot*, in the sixteenth, put them into consternation; and as the *fight* and *voice* of him unarmed, were of late sufficient to terrify, and turn to flight, the whole *Trojan* army: no wonder *Polydamas* should so much dread his return with his destructive spear; rendered still more terrible by his implacable anger, on account of the death of his dearest friend *Patroclus*:—But though he so much dreads his return on the morrow into the plain and pursuit to the walls of *Troy* and the consequent destruction of his countrymen, yet he says (which is a further internal proof from the text, that he did not expect him in *complete armour*) at the conclusion of his speech, that brave as he was, he would not dare to venture him-

himself within the walls of Troy—

Εἶσω δ' οὐ μιν θυμὸς ἐφορμηθῆναι ἐᾷσει,

Οὐδὲ ποτ' ἐκπέσει.—

*Intus verò ne ipsum sua magnanimitas
irruere sinet,*

*Nec unquam vastabit—*Dr. S. Clarke.

And yet afterwards in the twenty first book, when the wise *Priam* sees, from the walls of *Troy*, *Achilles*, upon his return, destroying the people in the plain, and even pursuing them to the city; he advises those, who held open the gates of the city, to let the people in, but to shut them immediately after, and lock fast the bars: for, says he—

Δεῖδαι γάρ, μὴ ἔλως ἀνὴρ ἐς τεῖχος ἄληται.

*Metuo enim, ne exitialis vir in murum
irrumpat.*

Dr. S. Clarke.

The wise *Priam*, you see, fears lest he should follow the people into the
city,

city, and destroy them there: but *Polydamas* before, as observed, declares that he would not dare to rush into the city, after destroying the *Trojans* in the plain: the reason now of these different apprehensions and sentiments, evidently arises from his being clad in *complete armour* in the last instance, and in the first only furnished with the *part* that was left, or such as might be procured: and, in fine, in *Hector's* speech, in answer to this of *Polydamas*, the following passage seems to be founded in, and strongly to imply, his not being *completely armed* on this occasion:—

Εἰ δ' ἐτεὸν παρὰ ναῦφιν ἀνέστη δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,

"Αλγίον, αἶκ' ἐθέλῃσι, τῷ ἔσσεται.—

Sin revera apud naves surrexit ad certamen nobilis Achilles,

Gra-

Gravius, si voluerit, ei erit :—

Dr. S. Clarke.

And thus is *Polydamas's* meaning herein evidently seen, and the passage under consideration fully cleared up, and the meaning of it illustrated and ascertained by these few *unnoticed* critical observations : and *Homer* acquitted from the imputation of a *slip* of memory, and even of those little *nods*, which *Horace* speaks of :—but as it is common with men to blame others for *faults* that are to be found in themselves only, so this frailty, thus greatly incident to human nature, seems to have fully possessed Mr. *Pope* here :—the *slip* of memory is his own, and the *nod* his own too. And thus is *Homer* found here, as well as every where else throughout the *Iliad*, attentive and awake.

SECT.

S E C T. XIV.

IN the twentieth book we find,
 upon *Achilles's* return to the field
 of battle, a most signal engagement
 coming on between himself and *Aeneas*,
 v. 159 of the *original*; and in Mr.
Pope's notes on this passage (214 verse
 of his own translation) we are told,
 “ our expectation is raised to see gods
 “ and heroes engage, when suddenly
 “ it all sinks into a single combat, in
 “ which neither party receives a wound,
 “ and (what is more extraordinary)
 “ the gods are made spectators of so
 “ small an action! what occasion was
 “ there for thunder, earthquakes, and
 “ descending deities, to introduce a
 “ matter of so little importance?
 “ Neither is it any excuse, to say he
 “ has

“ has given us a piece of ancient his-
 “ tory; we expected to read a *poet*,
 “ and not an *historian*. In short,
 “ after the greatest preparation for
 “ action imaginable, he suspends the
 “ whole narration, and from the heat
 “ of a *poet* cools at once into the sim-
 “ plicity of an *historian*.”

Now here in order to pave my way
 for a more general and full answer to
 this passage, I think proper to premise
 a few things concerning the speeches of
Achilles and *Aeneas*, preceding the
 action here; which Mr. *Pope* has be-
 fore given up (in his note on the 1032d
 verse of his translation of the sixteenth
 book) as indefensible. *Achilles*, I ob-
 serve, on the first interview of *Aeneas*,
 checks his vanity in aspiring to sove-
 reign dignity, after *Priam*, as a reward
 of his service in killing him: and tells
 him, if he does kill him, he may fail

of his prize, as *Priam* has sons, and is wife:—and goes on enquiring further, whether the *Trojans* have promised some rich spacious tract of land, as a reward of his death?—this, also, as he is not his match in war, he tells him he may fail of:—adding, he might remember, he had before fled from his spear on mount *Ida*, and hardly escaped with his life, by hiding himself in *Lyrnessus*: which, he continues, that himself assailed, took, and plundered; and that *Jupiter* and the other gods saved him *there* also: but thought that would not be the case *now*, but that certain death awaited him.

This insulting speech of *Achilles's*, does indeed occasion a long one of *Aeneas's* in answer, in which, as was natural to do, he vindicates the honour of his race and family, particularly

larly and fully*: but sensible of the impropriety of a very long speech, even under such severe abuse, in a

* *Homer's* poems were made to be recited, or sung to a company; and not read in private, or perused in books, which few were then capable of doing; and I will venture to affirm, that whoever reads not *Homer* in *this* view loses a great part of the delight he might receive from the poet.

His style, properly so called, cannot be understood in any other light; nor can the *strain* and *manner* of his work be felt and relished, unless we put ourselves in the place of his audience, and imagine it coming from the mouth of a *rhapsodist*: neither, to say the truth, is there any thing but *this* situation, that will fully account for all his heroes telling miraculous tales, as well as himself, and sometimes in the *heat of a battle*. But when we remember his profession, and his common audience, we see the necessity of *stories*, and of such as he usually tells. It was not the inhabitants of a *great luxurious city* he had to entertain with unnatural flights, and lewd fancies; but the martial race of a wide and free country, who willingly listen to the *prowe*s of their ancestors, and achievements of their kings. *Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer*, sect. 8. p. 122.

time of action, he even checks himself, as he had done *Achilles* before, (which is *his* and *Homer's* just apology) and adds—v. 244.—

"Ἀλλ' ἄγε μήκετι ταῦτα λεγόμεθα, νηπι-
τιοι ὥς,

Ἐσαώτ' ἐν μεσση ὑσμίνῃ θηιατῆτος.

*Sed age ne amplius hæc differamus,
pueruli tanquam,*

Stantes in mediâ acie prælii.—

Dr. S. Clarke.

The speeches, preceding the action, being thus accounted for and vindicated, I think the other objections of *Mr. Pope* may be easily removed. "A
" single combat, it seems, is too small
" an action for our raised expectations,
" and for the *gods* to be spectators
" of."—But be it remembered it is
a single action between two of the
greatest heroes of the *Grecian* and
Trojan army, *Achilles* and *Æneas*,
both descended from goddesses : and

the engagement is very serious and fierce, and *Aeneas* is even about to fall by the sword of *Achilles*, had not *Neptune* reminded *Jupiter* of his piety, of his divine extraction from *Saturnius*, and the future reign destined him and his posterity after *Priam's* line, which was now become odious to him * : and himself, by the permission of the fire of gods and men, rescued and saved him. And pray now, why is not an action between so great heroes,

* *Aeneas* sprang from the royal blood of *Troy*. The first princes of this family were as virtuous as powerful. But in process of time, these two things were divided into two different branches. *Ilus* left the crown to *Laomedon*, and his virtues to *Assaracus*. *Priam* and *Paris* were heirs of the first, *Anchises* and *Aeneas* to the second. By this means the poet bestows upon this hero the good inclinations of his ancestors before he is restored to the royal power. His piety deserved the sceptre of his father, and the perfidiousness of the other branch was the cause that *Priam's* family was extirpated. *Bossu*, b. 4. c. 2.

in which one escapes by the intervention of the *gods*, as memorable as if one of them had fallen by the other's hand? —But, it seems, he is not only offended at this single action; for he adds further, “ he suspends the whole narration, “ and from the heat of a *poet*, cools at “ once into the simplicity of an *historian*.” —So far from this, that, on the contrary, after this miraculous escape of *Æneas*, the *poet* engages the *Grecians* and *Trojans* afresh in a general engagement:—*Achilles*, on the other side, fired by this disappointment, rushes into the field of battle, and calls upon every foldier to assist and second him—*κέλευε δὲ Φῶνι ἐκάστω* (v. 353.)—*Hector*, on the other hand, alarmed at this general onset, headed by *Achilles*, calls all his *Trojans* to his assistance, who as readily obey his summons and return to the battle:—*Hec-*

tor himself is about to engage *Achilles*, had he not been warned from the action by *Apollo*.—Upon this, *Achilles* rushes, in revenge of this second disappointment, with redoubled fury upon the whole force of the *Trojans*, and after first killing *Iphition*, and next *Demoleon*, *Antenor's* son: he even arrests, by his spear, *Hippodamas*, as he jumped affrighted from his chariot, and was endeavouring to save himself by flight:—and then proceeds to vent his rage on *Polydore*, the youngest and most favourite son of *Priam*, and pierces him with his spear through the back and intestines, as he endeavoured to save himself by his speed in flight; and with the wound came forth all his bowels: *Hector*, shocked at this most dreadful sight, could no longer (though so lately warned from the field of battle by *Apollo*) remain unactive, but

returned, like fire, upon *Achilles*, in revenge of his dear brother's death: *Achilles*, on the other hand, springs forth, highly rejoiced at the opportunity now afforded him of revenging the death of his dearest friend *Patroclus* by the fall of *Hector*, who killed him:—On this, a formal engagement ensues between them, in which *Minerva* wafts aside *Hector's* discharged spear from the body of *Achilles*: upon which he rushes furiously upon *Hector* with his spear, fully resolved to kill him: but *Apollo* covers him with a cloud, bears him from the battle, and saves his favourite hero:—*Achilles*, thus highly disappointed by the god, threatens his certain destruction the next time he meets him, and, in revenge of his disappointment, rushes again most courageously, on the whole *Trojan* host, and kills *Dryops*, *Demuchus*,

cbus, *Laogonus*, and *Dardanus*: young *Alastor* next bleeds: then *Mulius* and *Ecbeclus*, one by his spear, the other by his sword:—*Deucalion* follows these, and *Rhigmus* next succeeds to fate, together with his charioteer *Areithous*, as he turned his steeds to flight:—And *Achilles* (the poet moreover tells us) still continues dealing death on all sides, and concludes the whole with the following most dreadful description, which shuts up the book.—

Ὡς δ' ἀναμαιμάει βαθέ' ἄγκυα θεσπιδὰς
πῦρ

Οὐρεος ἀζαλέοιο, βαθεῖα δὲ καίεται ὕλη,
Πάντη τε κλονέων ἄνεμος φλόγα εἰλυφάζει·
Ὡς ὅγε πάντη θῦνε σὺν ἔγχρῃ, δαίμονι ἴσος,
Κτεινομένους ἐφέπων, ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα μέ-
λαινα.

Ὡς δ' ὅτε τις ζεύξῃ βόας ἄρσενας εὖρυμε-
τώπας,

Τριβέμεναι καὶ λευκὸν εὐτροχάλας ἐν ἀλῶνι,

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Ῥίμφο τε λέπτ' ἐγέναντο βοῶν ὑπὸ πόσσι
ἐριμύκων.

Ὡς ὑπ' Ἀχιλῆος μεγαθύμου μώνυχες ἵπποι
Στείβον ὁμῶς νέκυας τε καὶ ἄσπιδας αἵματι
δ' ἄζων

Νέσθεν ἅπας πεπάλαχτο, καὶ ἄντυγες αἱ περὶ
δίφρον,

Ἄς ἄρ' ἀφ' ἱππείων ὀπλέων ῥαθάμιγγες
ἔβαλλον,

Αἴτ' ἀπ' ἐπισσώτρων· ὃ δὲ ἔτετο κῦδος ἀρέ-
σθαι

Πηλείδης, λύθῃ δὲ παλάσσετο χεῖρας
ἀάπις.

*As when a flame the winding valley fills,
And runs on crackling shrubs between
the hills;*

*Then o'er the stubble up the mountain
flies,
Fires the high woods, and blazes to the
skies,*

*This way and that, the spreading tor-
rent roars;*

So

So sweeps the hero through the wasted
shores.

Around him wide, immense destruction
pours,

And earth is deluged with the sanguine
show'rs.

As with autumnal harvests cover'd o'er,
And thick bestrown, like Ceres' sacred
floor,

When round and round, with never
wearied pain,

The trampling steeds beat out th' un-
number'd grain.

So the fierce coursers, as the chariot
rolls,

Tread down whole ranks, and crush out
heroes souls.

Dash'd from their hoofs while o'er the
dead they fly,

Black, bloody drops the smoaking cha-
riot die :

The spiky wheels through heaps of car-
nage tore ;

And

*And thick the groaning axles dropp'd
with gore.*

*High o'er the scene of death Achilles
stood,*

*All grim with dust, all horrible in
blood,*

*Yet still insatiate, still with rage on
flame;*

Such is the lust of never-dying fame!
Pope.

And is this now too small an action for our raised expectations, and for the gods to be spectators of?—Certainly, upon the whole, it is one of the most dreadful and terrible in the whole *Iliad*.—*Æneas*, at the opening of the scene, engaged with *Achilles*: and *Hector*, though at first warned of it by *Apollo*, yet, after the death of *Polydore*, meeting him in single combat: and the Trojan host twice mowed down by his destructive spear
and

and sword, and at last trampled upon by his horses, and crushed under his chariot wheels! *—And strange to relate!

* *Pictures* (says *Bossu*, c. 8. b. 6.) have their shadows and their *distances*, and their point of sight, without which they lose all their grace and regularity. The images that adorn the arch of a very high *cupola*, are very large where they are, and to those that view them pretty near, represent only members that are monstrous in their proportions. A man would render himself ridiculous, if he seriously found fault with those misshapen postures, which men of understanding greatly admire. Because in truth these irregular figures are harder to draw well, than all the ordinary decorations, where every thing is just and regular.

It is just so in the works of the *poets*. It is easy, after the same manner, to find fault with the most excellent and admirable touches of them. One shall inveigh against *Homer* for carrying the *bravery* of *Achilles*, even to *brutality*: and for degrading the *patience* of *Ulysses*, even to the making him a *beggar*. He will laugh at the meekness and piety of *Aeneas*; and prefer the valour of *Turnus* before him. And yet that which appears defective in these poetical *heroes*, is just in the same manner as certain *pictures* seem irregular, when one takes them out of their proper place,
and

late! Mr. *Pope* himself in his last note upon the families, at the end of this book, seems fully apprehensive of all this—pity he did not perceive it sooner!—"I cannot (says he) close
 "the notes upon this book, without
 "observing the dreadful idea of *A-*
 "*chilles*, which the poet leaves upon
 "the mind of the reader. He drives
 "his chariot over shields and mangled
 "heaps of slain: the wheels, the
 "axle-tree, the horses are stained with
 "blood; the hero's eyes burn with
 "fury, and his hands are red with
 "slaughter. A painter might form
 "from this passage, the picture of
 "*Mars* in the fulness of his terrours,
 and considers them alone, without their circumstances. These pretended faults have more justice and artifice in them, and are a great deal harder to manage, than the pitiful beauties, and the cold and languishing perfections, which the meanest poets may steal from *morality*, and give to their chief personages.

" as

“ as well as *Phidias* is said to have
 “ drawn from another, that of *Ju-*
 “ *piter* in all his majesty.”

You see now he owns that *Mars* in the fulness of all his terrours might be drawn from the general dreadful description here given of the slaughter made by *Achilles* :—Surely this now is a description worthy a *poet*, and not, as it were, of an *historian*, as he before objects.—And further, we see now at length by his own confession, that it is not a matter of little importance, as he at first pretended, but of the *last* and most dreadful imaginable, that *thunder*, *earthquakes*, and *descending deities*, are here said to introduce*.

But

* Further, as I look upon these dreadful *presages*, as forerunners of *Achilles*'s exploits, not only of this first day, but of all succeeding ones : the *importance* of his atchievements in this general view will grow upon us to a very great height indeed :—For we find him, in the next book,
 driving

But this is not the only instance by many, where Mr. Pope's observations in one note, are found to run counter to, and fully disprove those in another*.

And driving the *Trojans* into the river *Xanthus*, and destroying them there; and afterwards engaged with the river-gods *Scamander* and *Simois*, and all their tributary rivers; and even choking their streams with the dead bodies and arms of their slain: we are told, moreover, he drew forth from the river *Xanthus* twelve *Trojan* youths alive, bound their arms with their own belts, and sent them by his attendants to the ships, destined to be burnt at *Patroclus's* funeral pile; and that he then pursues the *Trojans* through the plain with a most dreadful slaughter into the city; then attacks *Hector*, who remains without, and after pursuing him thrice round *Troy* wall, at last comes up with, and kills him.

* See my last note, on the third section of these essays, to this purpose. Sometimes in the very same note, where a passage is given up, the true solution is to be found, though not adopted by himself. And he frequently gives up in one note, what we find supported in another.—Thus, in his note on the 467th line of his translation of the twenty-second book, he condemns the insulting speeches of the *Grecian* soldiers over *Hector*, and the stabs they give his dead body as cowardly

And though he deserves our best commendations in many things, we must, in justice to *Homer*, condemn him here. *Pope's* name, we further grant, may be great in fame, but certainly *Homer's* is far greater.

ardly and barbarous; and yet soon after, at verse 496, he vindicates the higher indignity of *Achilles's* dragging the dead body of *Hector* behind his chariot-wheels; and "thinks it a great injustice to *Homer*, to reflect upon the morals of the author himself for things which he only paints as the manners of a vicious hero: for he even tells us, *Kad' Enlōpa dior aīnēia pētero ēgga* that it was an unworthy action."—And on these very principles are the indignities of the common soldiers, in wounding his dead body, equally vindicated; moderation, justice, and decency being unknown in those rough times: and of this we are constantly advertised by the poet, and have his frequent censures of these things scattered throughout the poem.—Thus likewise, in his note on the 1032d verse of his own translation of the sixteenth book, he gives up as highly improbable the manner of *Hector's* flight round *Troy* wall; and yet, in his note on the 180th verse of the twenty-second book, he very well vindicates it by various arguments of his own, and by others from *Aristotle*.

S E C T.

S E C T. XV.

WE are now come to the twenty first book, in which the battle in the river *Scamander* is described; who attacked, we are told, *Achilles* with all his waves, and that the river *Simois* joined him: and, on the other hand, that *Neptune* and *Pallas* came in to the assistance of the hero: and thus the contention continued for some time; till *Vulcan*, at the request and instigation of *Juno*, put an end to the combat, by drying up the streams, and, by this means, rescuing and delivering him. This battle is followed by the other gods engaging and combating with each other; and on the contention becoming pretty general, and very fierce, it is said that *Jupiter* was highly delighted, and
laughed

laughed within himself: the words in the original are, Il. φ. v. 388.

————— "Αἶε δὲ Ζεὺς

"Ημενος Οὐλύμπῳ, ἐγέλασσε δὲ οἱ φίλον ἦτορ
Γηθοσύνη, ὅθ' ὄρατο θεὸς ἔριδι ξυνίοντας.

————— *Audivit autem Jupiter*

*Sedens in Olympo; risitque ei suum cor
Lætitiâ, ut vidit deos certamine con-
gredientes.* Dr. S. Clarke.

" I was at a loss (says Mr. Pope) for
" the reason why *Jupiter* is said to
" smile at the discord of the gods, till
" I found it in *Eustathius*; *Jupiter*
" (says he) *who is the lord of nature,*
" *is well-pleased with the war of the*
" *gods, that is, of earth, sea, and*
" *air, &c. because the harmony of*
" *all things arise from that discord,*
" *&c.*"—But I believe such refine-
ments as these will be thought unne-
cessary towards the solution of this
place, when we come to consider that

M

the

the fire of gods and men smiled at the humourous account given him by *Pallas*, in the fifth book, of *Venus's* being wounded in the hand by the spear of *Diomed*, as she carried *Æneas* her son out of the battle; and, moreover, calling her to him, bid her mind only, for the future, her own province, the milder and more endearing offices of love; and leave to *Mars* and *Pallas* the rougher deeds of war. And, afterwards, when in the same book *Diomed*, at the instigation of *Minerva*, goes against *Mars* the god of war, and even wounds and sends him groaning from the field of battle up to heaven; *Jupiter* (on his laying a most heavy complaint before him of *Diomed's* encountering, and even most impiously wounding him, as he had done *Venus* before) only upbraids and severely reprimands him on account

count of his delighting in discord and war; which, he tells him, neither his threats or power could ever check or controll: and even adds, that had he not been his own offspring, and heavenly-born, he would long since have chained him on burning rocks with the *Titans*.

Now, I say, as these stories of *Jupiter's* first laughing at the account of *Venus's* being wounded by *Diomed*, and afterwards upbraiding *Mars*, who made complaints to him of his great audacity in wounding him too, will not admit of any such refinements, or *allegorical* solutions, as *Mr. Pope* seems not only to borrow, but adopt here, from *Eustathius*; I can see no reason why they should be used, in this case, to solve and account for his laughing at seeing the gods thus engaged in battle. And, moreover, when things

can be made out on popular and received notions and traditionary stories only, as I think they may fairly and easily be *here*, I am of opinion that all such far-fetched, affected, and forced solutions ought to be entirely rejected.

Now, why may not the generality of the gods as well be allowed to fall out here and engage each other, as some of them to join their forces together, in the first book, to bind *Jupiter* himself in chains; had not *Briareus*, at the request of *Thetis*, come into his aid and rescued him?—And why may not *Jupiter* himself, in return of this indignity, be delighted, and divert himself with seeing them thus fall out among themselves? And since we find that his consort *Juno*, fired with implacable hatred to the *Trojans*, on account of *Paris's* judgment on
 mount

mount *Ida*, and preference given, by him, to the goddess of beauty before her *, could so furiously pursue the pious *Aeneas*, after the destruction of *Troy*, in the whole course of his voyage, and even after his landing in *Italy*; why may not *Jupiter*, I say, be allowed to carry on his resentment also, and take a pleasure in seeing the gods, who would have bound him in chains, thus fall out among themselves, and engage each other; and even indulge his spleen, and laugh at this their folly in becoming mutual scourges and torments to each other?

Further, we find, in the first book, that the gods could join in a hearty and *inextinguishable laughter* † at

*

——manet alsa mente repōstum

Judicium Paridis, spreteque injuriâ formæ.

Virg. *Æneid.*

† Ἀχιλλεύς δ' ἄρ' ἐν ὄρῳ γέλωι μακάρισι θεοῖσιν,
ὧς ἰδὼν Ἥφαιστος διὰ δώματα πομπύοντα.

Il. A. v. 599.

Vulcan's awkward limping, when he undertook the office of cup-bearer, instead of *Hebe*, or *Ganymede*:—and in the eighth book of the *Odyssey*, we find the gods looking down and laughing *inextinguishably* at *Mars* and *Venus*, caught in lewd dalliance by *Vulcan's* net*—and if all may be permitted thus to laugh most heartily at the infirmities of the one, or the vices of the other, why may not even *Jupiter* himself be diverted with the rash quarrels of all?—And since the poet *Milton* tells us, that at the confusion of *Babel*—

—Great laughter was in heaven,
And looking down, to see the hubbub
strange,
And hear the din.—B. 12. v. 59 &c.

* Ἀσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνῶρτο γέλως μακάρεσσιν Διοισι,
Τέχνης εἰσορόωσι πολύφρονος Ἡφαίστιο.

Odys. 8. v. 326.

Why

Why may not *Jupiter* laugh and divert himself with the contentions and feuds that arose among *deified men*?—

And if the opinions above recited, of their attempting to bind *Jupiter*, and of their laughing at the infirmities of *Vulcan*, and at *Mars* and *Venus* caught in amorous dalliance, were founded upon vulgar traditionary notions, why may we not conjecture that a popular belief might also prevail of their having, some time or other, opposed each other in battle, especially when we consider and reflect, that the opinion of the general battle of the *Titans* and the *gods* *, which is certainly stranger than that of the gods fighting each other, obtained credit most universally?

—And *Milton* has also a general battle of the *angels* in heaven; and if *angels*, heavenly-born deities, may engage each

* See *Hesiod*.

other in fight, why not earth-born gods, such as *Homer's* are?—and if it is allowable to speak thus of the gods in *theology*, it is certainly more so in the fictions of *natural* and *moral* philosophy.

Further still, men's combating and wounding the gods in battle is a much stranger notion, than that of the gods combating each other; and yet we find, that on *Venus's* complaining on her return to heaven, to her mother *Dione*, of *Diomed's* wounding her, in order to comfort and teach her patience under her sufferings, she recites three instances of *Mars's*, *Juno's*, and *Pluto's* suffering in the like kind from men, which evidently shews that this opinion of men's wounding the gods was a popular one: and why then might there not be a popular opinion of what is less strange, their combating each

each other?—In fine, as *Homer* moreover introduces the gods also, on *Achilles's* return to battle, as engaging by the permission of *Jupiter* himself in a general battle, in like manner, in the beginning of the preceding book, why should not this other instance be looked upon, also, as an *internal proof* drawn from his own works, that there was a popular and received opinion at those times, that the gods occasionally engaged each other in combat?—And this supposition alone of a popular belief of these things will acquit the poet: whose business certainly is not the cloathing *philosophical*, but *received*, notions in an ornamented style and manner: and what renders this conjecture and assertion more and more probable, is, that, in fact, they are all along, throughout the poem, opposed

posed to each other, some siding with the *Grecians*, others with the *Trojans*; agreeable to the vulgar notions in such cases: and here this opposition and contention, which was general before, is only seen more fully, by their taking, as it were, the field (as they did before as *auxiliaries* to each army) now alone and by themselves, god against god.—

To say all at once, as the times preceding the *Trojan* war, will carry us three thousand years back, and no books of so long a date are left to help us to particular facts and instances of these things, what stronger or fuller proofs can reasonably be expected in the present case, than these united presumptive and highly probable ones? Had not *Homer* furnished the *commentators* with instances of men's wounding the gods in the speech of the goddess *Dione* to *Venus*, all of them would have been

at a loss to have produced a single one.

And it is no wonder that even such contentions as these should be ascribed to the gods, in the *Iliad*; when we consider that the *Greeks* first, and the *Romans* after them, both thought their gods to be of *human form*, and to partake of the same sentiments, humours, passions, and weaknesse*, as were com-

* *Tully* has observed that *Homer*, instead of thus degrading the gods to the infirmities of men, should rather have raised men to the perfection of gods. *Humana ad deos transtulit, quàm mallet Divina ad nos.* And for this reason it was that *Plato* banished him from his perfect commonwealth: though no one more admired him than himself. But what the one wishes as a *philosopher*, and the other decrees as a *lawgiver*, may be *philosophically* and *politically* right: since the common run of men may sometimes interpret *metaphors* and *allegories* literally, and from false appearances, and delusive precedents, run themselves into bad habits and vicious courses—but can never affect his character in the learned world as a *poet*: and even *Aristotle* vindicates him in the

mon to men; they being indeed originally all of them of the same common

the use of these popular notions in his poetry, and declares them to be, though not *morally*, yet *poetically*, good and right.

And Rollin (*Bell. Lett. Art. 2. on poetry*) says "Tully and Plato should have found fault
 " with the religion which supposed such gods,
 " and not with the poet, who represented them
 " under the idea commonly received. And this
 " indeed was the secret motive of the law, by
 " which he banished them from his common-
 " wealth. For all the *theology* of the pagans
 " was divided into two schools, the *poets* and
 " *philosophers*. The first preserved the substance
 " of the popular religion, established by customs
 " and immemorial traditions, authorized by the
 " laws of the state, and annexed to the publick
 " feasts and ceremonies. The philosophers, who
 " were secretly ashamed of the gross errors of
 " the people, privately taught a purer religion,
 " cleared from the multitude of gods, abandoned
 " to vices and shameful passions. And thus
 " Plato, by excluding the poets from his re-
 " publick, banished the popular religion by a
 " necessary consequence to make room for his
 " own; and by that artifice secured himself
 " from the hemlock of *Socrates*, who had fallen
 " under the people's displeasure for explaining
 " him-

mon extract and descent; according to the observation of *Pindar*—— "Ev

" himself too freely against the superstitions of
 " the ancient and prevailing religion. This re-
 " flection serves to remove the seeming contra-
 " diction there is in the conduct of the *Athenians*
 " towards *Aristophanes* and *Socrates*. It is not
 " known why they should be so impious in the
 " theatre, and so religious in the *Areopagus*: and
 " why the same spectators should publickly ap-
 " prove buffooneries so injurious to the gods in
 " the poet, and put the philosopher to death, who
 " had spoke of them with much more reserve.
 " *Aristophanes*, by representing the gods upon the
 " theatre under such characters and defects, as
 " raised the laughter of the audience, did no
 " other than copy after the publick theology.
 " He imputed nothing more to them, or of his
 " own invention, nor differed in the least from
 " the popular and commonly received opinions.
 " He spoke what all the world thought of them,
 " and the most scrupulous spectator saw nothing
 " irreligious to be shocked at, nor so much as
 " suspected the poet of the sacrilegious design
 " of ridiculing the gods. *Socrates*, on the other
 " hand, opposing the religion of the state, and
 " throwing down the worship they received from
 " their ancestors, with all the solemnities, cere-
 " monies, and mysteries attending upon it, and
 " thus giving offence to all the established, and
 " ge-

Ἐν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν θεῶν γένος ἐκ

Μιάς δὲ γένεσιν

Ματρεῖς

“ generally received prejudices, was looked upon
 “ as a declared *atheist*: and the people, enraged
 “ at so sacrilegious an attempt, which attacked
 “ whatever they held to be most sacred, gave a
 “ loose to the whole fury of their zeal in vindi-
 “ cation of their religion. For some religion is
 “ necessary to mankind; they cannot be without it;
 “ and the principles of it are too deeply implanted
 “ in the heart, to be wholly suppressed. But
 “ then they would have it be indulgent, easy,
 “ and complaisant; and that instead of laying a
 “ restraint upon their natural inclinations, or
 “ condemning them, it should authorize and ex-
 “ cuse them. It was a religion of this character
 “ the *Athenians* were fond of, and by representing
 “ it under these colours, *Aristophanes* acquired
 “ their applause and commendation. The same
 “ motive inspired the *Romans* with great indul-
 “ gence for the theatre, and engaged them, in
 “ some measure, to consecrate the license it took
 “ in regard to the gods, by giving it a place
 “ among the ceremonies of religion, of which
 “ their stage-plays were a part: though, on the
 “ other hand, the magistrates were very careful
 “ to screen the honour of the citizens from the
 “ invective of satyr.

“ In

Ματρὸς ἀμφοτέρῃ.

Διείργει δὲ πᾶσα κεκρίμενα

Δύναμις, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἔδεν

Ὁ δὲ χάλκεος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ ἔδος

Μένει θρανίος. ἅλλὰ τι προσφέρομεν

Ἐμπαν, ἢ μέγαν νέον, ἢ-

τοι Φύσιν ἀθανάτοισ;

Unum hominum, alterum deorum genus; ex una autem spiramus matre utriusque. Discriminat verò omnis separata potentia, quod illud quidem nihil est: æreum verò firma semper sedes manet

“ In reality these plays did not discredit the
 “ gods in the opinions of the people, who had
 “ been accustomed, from their infancy, to re-
 “ verence them with the same passions, that were
 “ ascribed to them upon the stage, and lost no-
 “ thing of their ordinary veneration for them by
 “ the jests, which were passed upon them:
 “ whereas the satyrs did really dishonour the
 “ great men of the common-wealth in the minds
 “ of the Roman people, and by making them
 “ less esteemed and respected by the publick,
 “ rendered them less serviceable to the state,
 “ and more unfit to command.”

cælum,

cælum. Sed aliquid similes sumus tamen, aut quoad excelsam mentem, aut quoad indolem immortalibus. Edit. Glasguæ.

But though they thus thought them of the same extract and original with themselves, and even to be cloathed with bodies, though of a more subtle kind; yet did they look upon them, on their *deification*, as possessed, moreover, of infinitely superior faculties and powers, and even of immortality: and though they esteemed them liable to the same humours as themselves, and to be fond of feasts, musick, and love, and subject to the same foibles and passions *, and even vulnerable:

yet

* As men entirely plunged in sensuality placed their whole happiness in it, and gave themselves up without restraint to the pleasure of eating and drinking, and the allurements of carnal desire, it naturally followed, that looking upon the gods as supremely happy, from the nature of their exist-

yet being taught these things from their infancy, they thought not the worse of them; and as they lived on *nectar* and *ambrosia*, heavenly food, and not on gross and earthly elements of bread and wine*; they esteemed them not liable to perish, but to be possessed eternally of heavenly mansions, whose pavement, according to

existence, they should ascribe to them the most perfect felicity, they had the experience and idea of in themselves; that they should represent them as passing their time in feasting and pleasures; and add to these the ordinary consequences and vices, which they thought inseparable from them. — In the school of so profane a theology, what could poetry say, which was peculiarly sacred to religion, and the natural interpreter of the sentiments of the heart? Its office required it to celebrate such gods as the publick religion pointed out, and to represent them with characters, passions, and adventures ascribed to them by fame.

Rollin of Poetry, Art. 2.

* Οὐ γὰρ σῖτον ἔδουσ', εἰ πίνουσ' αἰθοπα οἶνον,
Τοῦνεκ' ἀναιμόνες εἰσι, καὶ αἰθάνασθαι καλέονται.

Homer.

N

Pin-

Pindar's account, and *Homer's* too, was trodden brags* :—And what devotee, now-a-days, in the *Roman* communion, thinks the worse of their adored *saints*, for having been subject to human frailties, when on earth; or even for any legendary and romantic stories invented of them since: *canonization* here, as well as *deification* among the *Gentiles*, though it did not render them absolutely perfect and impassible, was, nevertheless, thought to secure them from all mortal assaults, and to endue them with nobler faculties and higher powers, and to crown them with everlasting bliss in the heavens :—and further, among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, the supposition of their gods being not only subject to human passions and weaknesses, but also partaking of *human forms*, was not only a popular,

* Διὸς ποτὶ χαλκοβαΐης δᾶ. II. A. v. 426.

but

but so favourite a notion, that they even thought it a most exalted conception; and greatly valued their religion upon this very circumstance, and even held all nations, who denied *human forms* to their gods, to be downright *atheists*: nay more, they even prided themselves upon it, and had the *Ægyptians*, who worshipped gods of *animal* and even *vegetable* forms, in the highest contempt—Hence that sarcasm of *Juvenal*—

*Felices gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in
bortis*

Numina!———

To take now a general survey of what has been said: the whole of *Homer's* poem, respecting men and gods, is founded principally on the manners of the times, traditionary stories and fictions, and popular and even established opinions: and, there-

fore, it can never be expected that he should present us with a *perfect fable* *, or consistent set of *religious opi-*

* That the imperfectness of the *manners* of men, and particularly of the *hero* of the *Iliad*, may not prejudice us in our general opinion of the poem; the reader is desired to attend to the following observations of Mr. *Pope*. "The plan, says he, " of this *poem* is formed upon anger, and its " different effects, the plan of *Virgil's* upon pious " resignation, and its rewards: and thus every " passion and virtue may be the foundation of " the scheme of an *epic poem*."—Note of his first Vol. p. 5. And again, he tells us "*Achilles's* " manners are not *morally* good, they are only " *poetically* so, that is to say, they are *well* " *marked*: and discover before hand what resolutions that *hero* will take: as hath been at " large explained upon *Aristotle's* poetics." *Dacier*, as given us by Mr. *Pope*, Vol. 5. p. 47. And in his *preface* he observes, " that the anger " of *Achilles* is the most short and single subject " that ever was chosen by any *poet*. Yet this " he has supplied with a vaster variety of incidents and events, and crouded with a greater " number of councils, speeches, and battles, and " episodes of all kinds, than are to be found " even in those poems, whose schemes are of " the utmost latitude."

And

opinions *: and in all ages, as well as those he treats of, the manners of men will be imperfect, and the sentiments of the generality found more or less to partake of the same inconsistency in religious matters, as I have already observed and shewn in several

And says *Bossu*, “ I call those *true characters*, “ which we truly and really see in men ; no one “ questions but there have been men as passionate “ and violent as *Achilles*.” B. 4. c. 15.

* *Fabulæ complures nullo modo videntur ab eis inventæ, à quibus recitantur et celebrantur, Homero, Hesiodo, et reliquis : verùm si quis rem attentius consideret, apparebit, illas tradi et referri tanquam prius creditas et receptas, non tanquam tum primò excogitatas et oblatas. Quintianum cum diverso modo à scriptoribus ferè coævis referantur : faciliè cernas quod commune est, quod ex veteri memoriâ desumptum : quod varium, ex singulorum ornatu additum : atque hæc res existimationem earum apud nos auxit, ac si nec ætatis, nec inventionis poëtarum ipsorum essent ; sed veluti reliquiæ sacræ et auræ tenues, temporum meliorum, quæ ex traditionibus nationum magis antiquarum, in Græcorum tubas et fistulas incidissent.* *Bacon de Sap. Vet. Præfat.*

instances:—To proceed to more respecting the *Iliad* of *Homer*: his *Jupiter* is not capable of continual attention, and whether diverted by different objects, weariness or want of rest, his eyes are not constantly fixed upon all that passes. *Neptune* *, who was watchful for an opportunity to assist the *Greeks*, lays hold of a favourable opportunity, when *Jupiter*'s eyes were drawn from *Troy*. *Juno* had found means to lay him asleep †, that during his repose she might raise a storm against *Hercules*: and long before she knew how to deceive him ‡, by favouring the birth of *Eurystheus*, who thereby became master of *Hercules* against *Jupiter*'s intention:—but notwithstanding we find him in the *Iliad* placed at the head of all the

* Il. 13. v. 1 &c.
 † Il. 19. v. 95.

† Il. 14. v. 250.

gods, and described as far superior to them all in wisdom * and power, and even as sometimes setting bounds to *fate* and *destiny*: and yet, in the first book of the poem, we find three of the gods, *Juno*, *Neptune*, and *Minerva*, too many for him alone, and even capable of binding him in chains, had not *Briareus*, called to his aid by the goddess *Thetis*, rescued and saved him: and we find also, in many instances, *fate* and *destiny* prevailing over the will of *Jupiter*: and though *fate* and *destiny* are thus sometimes superior to the will of the fire of the gods and men, yet *Homer* tells us there have been brave men who have over-ruled

* He says of himself—Il. 8. v. 27.—

Τόσσον ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰμὶ θεῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

For such I reign, unbounded and above;

And such are men, and gods, compar'd to
Jove.

Pope.

both: thus, for instance, though *destiny* had denied to *Achilles* the glory of taking *Troy*, yet we find, in the twentieth book of the *Iliad*, *Jupiter* himself declaring, that if *Achilles* fights singly against the *Trojans*, he is capable of over-ruling *destiny* *, and sacking *Troy* that very day: the true god of the *Christians* being only one, and without a rival, or partner, is commonly thought to hold the reins of government in his own hands only, and to rule without the least controul; and yet *fate* and *destiny* are as generally talked of now, and believed to bear as great a sway in the *lives* and *fortunes* of men, as formerly; so you see there is not now, nor ever

* Εἰ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς οἷος ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μαχεῖται,
Δεῖδω μὴ καὶ τεῖχος ὑπὲρ μῶρον ἐξαλαπαῇ.
Though fate forbids, Troy soon must lie o'er-
thrown,

If uncontroll'd Achilles fights alone. Pope.
was,

was, any consistency in *popular opinions*: all, therefore, that a *poet* has to do in this case is certainly, with *Homer*, to take them as he finds them, to write after the ways of thinking and modes of speaking in common use, and employ them in the method and manner most ornamental to his *poem*. Strict and *philosophical* truths, are the province of *divines* only.—And to this purpose *Bossu* well says (B. 5. c. 1.) *the poet suits himself to our gross way of conceiving divine things, and to the infirmities of our minds.*

But what is here said must be considered as respecting the general cast and drift of his *poem* only: for there are besides several mysteries, both of *natural* and *moral* philosophy, involved and hid in many of his fictions, and which cannot be accounted for in
a po-

a popular way; but these are but few in comparison, and by no means affect or obstruct the use of these more general positions: and a scrupulous and exact explication even of these fables and traditional stories and fictions respecting gods and men in *Homer's* poem, will be found, in most instances, an unnecessary task, and of no real use: and indeed extremely difficult, in most cases, to come at with any degree of certainty: and any one who considers them throughout the *Iliad*, will find that he most commonly uses and employs these hieroglyphical fables and traditions, which his travelling into *Ægypt* probably furnished him with, as embellishments of his poem only, without ever opening their hidden and mystical meaning to his readers; and it may be without considering them deeply and philosophically

phically himself*: even these, I say, therefore, as treated by him, need not be often nicely and deeply inquired into †, having frequently a popular and

* “ But there are some other parts of his management with respect to the *divinities*; their ranging themselves on different sides; and his chiefs being protected by *opposite* powers, which it will be worth while to examine:—the *Greeks*, naturally wise and brave, and so formed by the *temperature* of their *climate*, have *Pallas* and *Juno* of their party. The *Trojans* have *Mars*, or the impetuous sally of war, *Venus* or effeminacy, and *Apollo*, a mixed kind of divinity; the god of *beat*, *ecstatic musick*, and *poetic passion*. *Jupiter*, or the *universal nature*, and particularly the influences of the *celestial region*, favours sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, but generally the *Greeks*. *Neptune* is entirely *Grecian*, as they were lords of the *sea*.”—Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer. sect. 10. p. 214.

† Doctor S. Clarke has an observation in the first *Iliad*, in his note on the 399th verse, full to this purpose—*Verisimillimum est hæc non ab Homero conficta, sed ab antiquis fuisse desumpta philosophis, qui elementorum mutationes, rerumque naturalium*

and most pleasing turn given to them ; a popular and most pleasing turn, I say ; for evidently these *mythological* fictions and

pararalium formandarum rationes sub hujusmodi fabulis soliti sunt docere. Quarum tamen fabularum subtilior et enucleatior explicatio ad poetici ornatûs intelligentiam parum facit.—Further, the attempting to elucidate such fables and mythological fictions as these, is not only in the general needless, but it will be found probably in most instances impracticable, and when we consider the following observation of Lord *Verulam* in his preface to his piece *De sapientiâ veterum*, concerning these traditional stories and fictions. *Antiquitatem primævam (exceptis quæ in sacris literis habemus) oblivio et silentium involvit ; silentium antiquitatis fabulæ poetarum exceperunt : fabulis tandem succèssere scripta quæ habemus : adeò ut antiquitatis penetralia et recessus à sequentium sæculorum memoriâ et evidentiâ, tanquam velo fabularum discreta et separata sint ; quod se interposuit et objecit medium inter ea, quæ perièrunt, et ea quæ extant.*—

And if the interventions of *parabolical* fables was thus, as it were, a veil drawn over the eyes of the most learned, how could the generality of men ever attain the least glympse of the hidden meaning of the old *mythological* stories : especially when we consider further, that the *literal sense* of many of them was supported and confirmed by
most

parabolical stories were entirely adapted to, and founded in, the nature of mankind, and rendered still more amiable

most permanent monuments and vouchers: thus *Vulcan's* fall (when he was cast out of heaven by *Jupiter*) in the island of *Lemnos* (Il. 1.) was evidenced by the constant *eruptive fires* where he fell; and the strange story of *Jupiter's* fastning two anvils to *Juno's* feet, when he hung her up in the air (Il. 15.) was also supported by the very anvils being thrown down, preserved, and shewn in *Troy*: and to this purpose *Eustathius* acquaints us, that in some manuscripts of *Homer* there were these two verses.—

Πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ σ' ἀπέλυσσ' ἀποδῶν, μύδρεα δ'
ἐνὶ Τροίῃ
Κάββαλον, ὄφρα πέλοιτο καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυ-
θέσθαι.

To this purpose *Socrates*, in *Plato's Phædrus*, after declaring the exceeding difficulty attending the solution of such *allegories*, even bids adieu to these subjects: and *being persuaded*, says he, of the truth of the opinion settled concerning them by law, I fix my attention to myself, and consider not the Gorgon or the Centaur, but what kind of monster I am: whether more double and slippery than *Proteus*, and more fiery than *Typhon*: or perhaps a tamer and milder animal, designed by nature for a divine lot, and peaceful destiny.

by

by poetry, as the best lyric poet, and who seems next to *Homer* to have best understood it, fully informs us:—

Ἡ θαύματα πολλὰ,
Καὶ πᾶσι καὶ βροτῶν φρένας,
ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον
Δεδαιδάμενοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις

Ἐξαπατῶντι Μῦθοι.

Χάρις δ', ἅπερ ἅπαντα τεύ-
χει τὰ μέλιχα θνατοῖς,

Ἐπιφέρεισα τιμὴν,

Καὶ ἅπισον ἐμήσατο πῖσόν

Ἐμμεναι τὸ πόλλακις.

Ἀμέραι δ' ἐπίλοιποι,

Μάετυρες σοφώτατοι.

Πίνδαρος Ὀλυμπ. Α.

Certè mirabilia multa, et nonnunquam etiam hominum mentes, supra veracem sermonem variegatæ mendaciis variis decipiunt fabulæ: gratiâque poëticæ, quæ omnes facit voluptates hominibus, afferens dictis auctoritatem,

etiam incredibile, solertiâ fecit credibile esse sæpenumero. Dies autem subsequentes testes sunt sapientissimi.

Upon the whole therefore I think, as I have all along insisted from the beginning of this *section*, that this general contention of the gods, and Jupiter's looking down and laughing at the fray, may very easily and fairly be accounted for, as above, from received notions, and in a *popular way only*, without recurring, with *Eusebius* and Mr. *Pope*, to any subtleties and refinements on *second causes*, and the *harmony* that is supposed to arise from the jarring of the *elements* of which this world is composed; and the particular circumstances attending this battle, objected to also by Mr. *Pope* at the 556th verse of his translation, may all be vindicated likewise on these principles.

And

And as these observations are founded in the genius of the times, and in the popular and generally received opinion and belief of the men of the old world concerning *allegorical* stories and *parabolical* fictions, which *Homer* certainly every where, as occasion requires, faithfully copies and builds upon, to the great adornment of his *poem* *, they will be found to every reader of the *Iliad* to be the best clue, by which to guide his steps, and direct and satisfy his mind, in all other instances as well as this, throughout the *poem*.

* In the apt use of these consists what is called *parabolical poetry*, and of which Lord *Verulam* gives the following most transcendent character : — *Poësis parabolica inter reliquas eminet et tanquam res sacra videtur et augusta, cum præsertim religio ipsa ipsius operâ utatur, et per ea commercia divinorum cum humanis exerceat.* Bacon de Aug. Scient. lib. 2. cap. 13.

But

But though *Homer* every where thus conforms, as all good poets ever did, and ever must do, to popular and received opinions respecting the *fable* and machinery of his poem; yet, for his credit, be it remembered, that in point of *morality* * (of which even *allegories* † were thought a great support) so many and excellent are the

* With great reason (says *Bossu*, b. 4. c. 14.) does *Horace* carry the necessity of this doctrine so high, and teach us that the principle and source of all that is good in a poem, is this wisdom, which *Socrates* made profession of, that is, the knowledge of the practice of *moral philosophy*.—

*Scribendi rectè sapere est et principium et fons,
Rem tibi Socraticæ poterant ostendere chartæ.*

De Art. Poët.

The only design of the *fable*, or *epopea*, is to lay down instructions of *morality* and *virtue*.

† Cum enim rationis humane inventa, et conclusiones (etiam quæ nunc tritæ, et vulgatæ sunt) tunc temporis novæ et insuetæ essent, vix illam subtilitatem capiebant ingenia humana, nisi proprius eæ ad sensum per hujusmodi simulacra, et exempla deducerentur. *Bacon de Aug. Scient.* l. 2. c. 13.

O

pre-

precepts and examples interspersed throughout the *Iliad*, and so great the piety and devotion manifested towards the *gods* in all the acts of religion in use at those times throughout the whole, that nothing ever prospers without due tribute of prayer and sacrifice from the beginning to the end : insomuch that we see the *great moral* constantly carried on throughout the *poem*, of the need men have at all times of the divine assistance : and thus, in fine, does the *divine lesson*, inculcated at the beginning of the *Iliad*, (*Διὸς δ' ἔτελεέτο βουλὴ, the will of God was fulfilled*) appear throughout the whole : and his greatest heroes (not excepting the mighty *Achilles* * himself) and wisest men, are every

* It is *Achilles* that says (Il. i. v. 218.)

Ὅσκει θεοῖς ἐπιπείθηται, μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτῷ.

Those who revere the gods, the gods will bless.

Pope.

where,

where, and on all occasions, careful and ready to acknowledge it, and bear testimony to it: and himself, from the very first invocation, throughout the *poem* gives this example of piety and veneration to the gods; that all he knows and writes is of the gift of heaven: and on these grounds undoubtedly it was that *Horace* preferred *Homer* to all the writers of *morality* * whatever, in the following verses—

*Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe,
quid utile, quid non;*

* That he should so greatly excel in *moral* instructions, will appear very wonderful indeed, when we consider and reflect with the *Author* of the *Enquiry into his life and writings* (p. 22.) that for some ages after the taking of *Troy*, *Greece* was indeed encreasing in wealth and numbers of inhabitants, but was continually engaged in wars; Battles of *tribes*, piracy and incursions were common adventures: for which he quotes *Strabo* and *Thucydides*.

*Pleniùs et meliùs Chryſippo et Cran-
tore dicit.*

So that evidently the chief aim of the *Iliad* is to instruct, and whoever overlooks the morality* of it, loses half, the noblest half of its beauty.

But let not the great credit of this eclipse his other merit :— It is true that he uses the popular religion of *Greece*, and *mythological* stories raised upon it, as he found them for the purposes of adorning and embellishing his *poem*; and as he seems to have been the first who constituted it a proper machinery for *poetry*, so has he been so happy, dextrous, and masterly in his use and application of it that way, that his *system* (to his eternal credit be it spoken) has been the favourite one of all suc-

* *Homerus omnem poësim suam ita sententiis
referfit, ut singula ejus apothegmata vicem pro-
verbiorum in civium ore fungantur.* Macrob.

ceeding bards, and his gods continue the gods of *poetry* to this very day.

I shall only observe further, by way of conclusion to this present *section*—that though some *critics* have blamed the defects with which *Homer* draws the manners of his gods, and which I have here vindicated his use of, as being founded in popular, received and even established opinions; yet they allow he has succeeded much better in describing their figure and persons. *Jupiter* in the first *Iliad* is certainly described in all the majesty and grandeur that it is possible to conceive, and without any mixture of mean and earthly images: and in the beginning of the thirteenth book, *Neptune* is painted in the most pompous and sublime manner imaginable: and such as was most highly admired by all antiquity. But even these de-

scriptions of their figure, persons, and powers (though we are much indebted to the *poet* for the heightening and *colouring*) are also founded in popular opinions; for the generality, notwithstanding their notion that the gods partook of the same passions, weaknesses, and humours with themselves*, nevertheless thought them to be

* The true God, we are taught, is *without body, parts, and passions*; and yet is he frequently in *Scripture* represented, in condescension and by way of accommodation to our imperfect apprehensions, as partaking of each of these; and among the *poets* it is more frequently done still: can then the use of the popular and established religion of *Greece*, which even teaches these things, and which are so admirably adapted to the purposes of *poetry*, be imputed to *Homer* as a fault? it was certainly his great happiness, as a *poet*, that he found a religion of such a cast, and he has been still happier in his use of it: and allow him but such *gods* and *men*, as he found fairly existing in *opinion* and *practice*, and every thing in his *poem* must be allowed to be most admirable, and transcendently beautiful indeed. And

be exceeding august in their persons and possessed of infinitely nobler faculties and higher powers, and even immortality: as indeed I have before hinted in this section. So that the whole of his *poem*, respecting gods and men, will be found ultimately to arise from the received opinions and manners of the times, and this is one great pleasure every reader enjoys in the perusal of it: viz. that he by this means sees a picture, as it were, and the only authentic one of the old world, placed before his eyes, just as it existed in reality upwards of

as to his *colouring* and heightening (which I observed upon) be it remembered that *poetry* resembles *painting*—(*ut pictura poësis erit*—Horat.) and *poets*, as well as *painters*, without altering the natural resemblance, *represent persons and things more comely than they are*, says *Aristotle*; and adds, αἶον τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὁ Ὅμηρος, it is after this manner that *Homer* has attributed *goodness* to *Achilles*.

216 CRITICAL DISSERTATIONS

three thousand ~~seven hundred~~ years ago.

“ If the invention of a ship (says
 “ Lord *Verulam*) was thought so no-
 “ ble and wonderful a thing, which
 “ transports riches and merchandise
 “ from place to place, and conso-
 “ ciates the most remote regions, by
 “ a participation of their productions
 “ and commodities : how much more
 “ are letters to be magnified, which,
 “ as ships furrowing the *ocean* of time,
 “ connect the most distant ages by a
 “ correspondence of wits and inven-
 “ tions *.”

Translated by Dr. Wm. Willymott.

* Quod si navis inventum, res existimata tam
 nobilis et admirabilis fuerit, quæ opes mercesque
 hinc inde transportant, regiones locis disjunctissimas
 participatione fructuum et commodorum consociat;
 quanta rectius literæ celebrari debent, quæ tanquam
 naves sulcantes oceanum temporis, remotissima sæ-
 cula, ingeniorum et inventorum commercio et sociæ-
 tate copulant. Bacon *de Aug. Scient. Lib. 1. sub*
finem.

SECT.

S E C T. XVI.

THE last passage of consequence, standing need of our support, is a very remarkable one indeed; and such as I could much wish my present undertaking did not oblige me to dwell upon: it occurs at the 129th and following verses of the 24th book, and is spoke by the goddess *Thetis*, in order to comfort her son under his excessive grief for the loss of *Patroclus*, whose *funeral* rites he had lately duly celebrated, and is as follows—

Τέκνον ἔμῳν, τέο μέχρ' ὀδυρόμενος κ' ἀχέων.
 Σὴν ἔδεαι κραδίην, μεμνημένος ἔδε τι σίτῃ
 Οὐτ' εὐνῆς; ἀγαθὸν δὲ γυναικὶ περ ἐν φιλό-
 τητι

Μίσγεσθ'· ὃ γάρ μοι δηρὸν βέη, ἀλλὰ τοὶ ἤδη
 Ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος κ' μοῖρα κραταίη.

How

*How long, unhappy, shall thy sorrows flow!
And thy heart waste with life-consuming
woe?*

*Mindless of food, or love, whose pleasing
reign*

Sooths weary life, and softens human pain.

*O snatch the moments yet within thy
pow'r,*

*Not long to live, indulge the am'rous
hour!*

Pope.

Mr. Pope, in his note upon this passage informs us “ that the ancients
“ (according to *Eustathius*) rejected
“ these verses, because of the indecent
“ *idea* they convey:—and the good
“ *bishop* is of opinion they ought to
“ be rejected:”—and further, after
enumerating several defences of them,
which he seems to think insufficient,
he tells us towards the conclusion of
his note upon this passage, “ that
“ he is of opinion, that it outrages
“ all

“ all decency—but still the indecency,
 “ he continues, lies in the manner of
 “ expression, which must be allowed
 “ to be almost obscene; (for such is
 “ the word *μισγερὸν* *misceri*;) all that
 “ can be said in defence of it is, that
 “ as we are not competent judges of
 “ what *ideas* words might carry in
 “ *Homer's* time, we ought not en-
 “ tirely to condemn him, because it is
 “ possible the expression might not
 “ sound so indecently in ancient, as
 “ in modern ears.”

In answer to all this, I observe that
 it is not only possible, but abundantly
 evident, from the *poem* itself, that the
 word *μισγερὸν*, in fact, conveyed no
 indecent *idea*, (as used by *Homer* : for
 we find this very word frequently ap-
 plied to, and used throughout the
Iliad, by both *sexes*, and even by
gods, when speaking of themselves:
 thus,

thus, for instance, *Paris* tells *Helen*, that his *present* love of her exceeds his *first*, when (Il. 3. v. 445.)

Νῆσῳ δ' ἐν Κρανάῃ ἐμύγην Φιλότῃτι κ' εὐνῇ.

When first entranc'd in Cranae's isle I lay,

Mix'd with thy soul, and all dissolv'd away. Pope.

And *Venus* (we are told by *Pausanias*) had here a temple built to her honour by *Paris*, in gratitude of his happiness in this first enjoyment, under the title of *Migonitis*, and the coast where it was built, was hence called *Migonian*.

And as *Paris* uses this term respecting himself, and the title given to the goddess *Venus*: so we find in the sixth book (v. 164.) *Prætus's* wife, when speaking of herself, using this very phrase——

Τεθναίης, ὦ Πρῶτ', ἥ κάκιστα Βελλερο-
φόντην,

"Ος

"Ὅς μ' ἔθελεν φιλότῃ μιγῆμεναι ἐκ ἐθέλεισσι.
Moriendum tibi statue, o Proete, vel in-
terfice Bellerophontem,
Qui mihi voluit amore misceri nolenti.

Dr. S. Clarke.

Agamemnon, by the embassy to Achilles,
offers him, amongst other rich presents,
the fair Briseïs, whom he had taken
from him by force, and adds—

—Καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὀμῶμαι,
 Μὴ ποτε τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι, ἢ δὲ μιγῆναι.
With all her charms Briseïs I resign,
And solemn swear those charms were
never mine.

Pope.

And Phœnix says in the same book
 (v. 452.) that his mother often desired
 him,

Παλλακίδι προμιγῆναι, ἵν' ἐχθήσειε γέροντα.
Ut pellici prius-miscerer, ut adeo odio
haberet senem.

Dr. S. Clarke.

In respect of the gods, it is said on
Juno's interview with Jupiter upon
mount

mount *Ida*, when she purposed to divert his thoughts from the war by amorous dalliance:—(Il. 14. v. 294 &c.)

Ὡς δ' ἶδεν, ὥς μιν ἔρωσ πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμ-
φεκάλυψεν,

Οἷον ὅτε πρῶτισον ἐμισγέσθην Φιλότῃτι.

Ut verò vidit, continuò illum amor pruden-
tia præcordia cooperuit,

Perinde ac quando primum congressi
sunt amore. Dr. S. Clarke.

The word ἐμισγέσθην is here applied, you see, by the poet to both of them: and in the beginning of the fifteenth book, *Jupiter* upbraids *Juno* for thus deceiving him with love on mount *Ida*, and diverting his thoughts from the battle:—

Ὅφρ' εἰδῆς, ἦν τοι χραίσμη Φιλότῃς τε καὶ
εὐνῇ;

Ἦν ἐμίγῃς ἐλθῶσα θεῶν ἀπο, καί μ' ἀπά-
τησας.

Ut

*Ut scias, an tibi profuerit congressusque
et cubile,
Quo mista es, veniens seorsum à diis,
et me decepisti.* Dr. S. Clarke.

Now as the phrase *φιλότητι μιγῆναι* is thus found to be used and applied throughout the poem to men, women, and even gods promiscuously and indifferently, and even by themselves respectively, when speaking of themselves and each other: and, moreover, that even the title of *Migonitis* was given to *Venus* by *Paris* from hence, and a temple dedicated unto her under the title of *Migonitis*; and the adjoining coast likewise on this very account called *Migonian*: we cannot, I say, but conclude from this frequent and indifferent use of the phrase on all occasions, that it of old conveyed no obscene idea: and, consequently, that there was no indecency

cency in the use of it *: probably no more than in its being said in our modern phrases, that a person *had an amour* with such a one, or *enjoyed her charms* †.

* Shall a Frenchman, says Bossu, (c. 8. b. 6.) or any man now-a-days pretend that he is better qualified to criticise upon *Homer* than *Aristotle* was?—If not, then why should we not credit him, when he assures us (*Poët.* c. 24.) that this poet has surpassed all others in the art of writing well, whether we consider his *sentiments* and *thoughts*, or whether we consider his *expression*; and that he has not only excelled all others, but met with *perfect success*.

† It appears also from an observation in *Spondeus*, that the *Latins* explained this phrase also after this manner: for speaking of the *intercourse* between *Paris* and *Helen* in the third book of the *Iliad* (after his being carried out of the battle, and saved from the vengeance of *Menelaüs*, by *Venus*) he has the following remark—*Mollis, effeminatus, et spurcus ille adulter, nihil de libidine sua imminutum esse dicit, sed nunc magis eā corripi, quam unquam aliās, ne quidem cum primum, ea ipsi dedit* (*Latini ita rectè exprimant rō pūerperā in se venerēā*) *in insulā Cranaē.*

The

The expression being thus fully vindicated, Madam *Dacier* will help us to account for the lawfulness of such an intercourse between *Achilles* and *Briseïs*, and of the propriety of her mother * the goddess *Thetis's* advising the same: for, says she, “such com-
 “merces, in those times, were re-
 “puted honest †, and therefore the

* We see in the instances above recited, of the frequent and indifferent use of the word μι-
 γῆναι, throughout the *Iliad*, that *Phœnix's* mother desired him in the same phrase—Παλλακίδι προμιγῆναι—And *Prætus's* wife, when speaking of herself, uses this very phrase to her husband, concerning *Bellerophon's* attempt upon her chastity.

† Men of these ages were entirely plunged in sensuality, placed their whole happiness in it, and gave themselves up, without restraint, to the pleasure of eating and drinking, and to the allurements of carnal desire. *Rollin's Bell. Lett.* 2d Vol. on *Poetry*.

Hence that trite observation of *Homer's*—

Ὡς δέ μιν ἔς' ἀνθρώποις, ἢ τ' ἀνδράσιν, ἠδὲ γύναιζω.

P

“ ad-

“ advice cannot be reputed *indecent* :”
and I may add further, as such practices were thought not unbecoming the *gods*, why should *Thetis* be censured in advising her *son* to partake of them * ?

And the whole *Plutarch* tells us (as quoted by Mr. *Pope*) redounds to *Achilles*’s credit; for the poet has

* And thus does the young man in *Terence* vindicate himself in his *amours* by the example of *Jupiter*; saying, if the great god of all does these things, *ego homuncio hæc non facerem? ego verò et lubens*. — *Eunuch*. — And hence it comes that *Horace* says — *notandi sunt tibi mores*. — and these things in the poets, though not *morally*, are yet most certainly *poetically* good and right, as being founded in the *manners* of the times. The *goodness* (says *Bossu*, b. 4. c. 4.) that is proper to the *poetical* manners, is to make them appear such as they are — So that the manners of *Aeneas*, and those of the atheist *Mezentius*, considered *poetically*, are both *equally good*: because they *equally* demonstrate the *piety* of the *one*, and the *impiety* of the *other*, which belong to them, and under which they are always represented.

set his picture in this place in a very fair and strong point of light: though *Achilles* has so lately received his beloved *Briséis* from the hands of *Agamemnon*; though he knew that his own life drew to a sudden period, yet the *hero* prevails over the lover, and does not haste to indulge his love: he does not lament *Patroclus* like a common man, by neglecting the duties of life, but he abstains from all pleasures by an excess of sorrow, and the love of his mistress is lost in that of his friend.

And at last Mr. *Pope* himself, after his very free censures, comes round and tells us, that the whole passage is capable of a serious construction, and of such a sense as a mother might express to her son with decency: and then (he says) it will run thus: “ why
“ art thou, my son, thus afflicted?

" why thus resigned to sorrow ? can
 " neither sleep, nor love divert you ?
 " short is the date of life, spend
 " it not all in weeping, but allow
 " some part of it to love and plea-
 " sure."



S E C T. XVII.

I Have purposely omitted, in the course of these essays, the consideration of lesser objections, relating to particular words and phrases, which are thought by some to return too frequently upon us throughout the *Iliad*; because they have been sufficiently, I think, answered already by Dr. S. Clarke and Mr. Pope in their respective notes: thus for instance at the 84th verse of the first *Iliad* occurs—τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη—and we find that Dr. S. Clarke, in his note upon it, justly neglects the pretences of lesser critics against the frequent return of this phrase throughout the poem, and says—*At verò erant hæc omnino simplicissime et sine ornatu dicenda, ut raptim ac velut in transitu legendi percurrerentur.*

To the same purpose, see a fine and more full answer of Mr. *Pope's* (book 19 and 197th verse of his translation.)—And as to the pretended too frequent use of *epithets*, which have no sort of allusion to the action described, see his note (book 21 and verse 405.) And monsieur *Boileau* is of opinion, they were of the nature of *surnames* and repeated occasionally as such.—And indeed I must further observe, that though *Homer* has avoided a *childish* affectation of expressing *minute things* perpetually in different ways; yet has he, when occasion required it, (agreeable to that *power* of invention *, which

* Mr. *Pope* in his *preface* says, “ that on whatever side we contemplate *Homer*, what principally strikes us is his *invention*.

“ It is that which forms the character of each part of his work; and accordingly we find it to have made his fable more *extensive* and *copious* than any other, his manners more *lively* and
“ *strongly*

which he possessed beyond all others) generally expressed things in a greater variety of phrases than any other poet whatever: as all careful readers of the *Iliad* must have observed.

But one thing I think it necessary to note and observe upon here—It is a common objection, and taken up by Mr. *Pope*, that he begins *almost every article* (in the *catalogue* of the ships) in the *same way*, and ends *perpetually* with μέλαιναί νῆες ἔποντο.—In answer to this exaggerated charge I cannot, I say, but observe here, that the *articles*, of which the *catalogue* of the ships consists, begin in *various manners*; and though some expressions return upon us several times in different articles, “strongly marked, his speeches more affecting and
 “transported, his sentiments more warm and
 “sublime, his images and descriptions more
 “full and animated, his expression more raised
 “and daring, and his numbers more rapid and
 “various.”

yet are they intermixed with many others importing the same thing in other different articles: infomuch that it would be difficult, as he has not told us the particular phrase that he hints at, for any one certainly to point it out *: and as to the *articles* ending *perpetually* with μέλαιναί νῆες ἔποντο: it is remarkable that no less than *seventeen articles* out of the *twenty nine*, of which the *catalogue* consists, are expressed in *different manners*, as may be seen by the following list of them.

- Il. 2. v. 509. — νέες κίων
 v. 516. — νέες ἐσυχόωντο.
 v. 557. — ἄγειν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
 v. 576. — νηῶν ἤρχε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,
 v. 586. — ἤρχε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος
 Ἐξήκοσθα νεῶν, —

* If he means οἱ δ' εἶχον or οἱ δ' ἔχον, they both occur but fourteen times in *twenty nine* articles, and that not immediately after each other, but interspersedly among other expressions to the same purport: and are therefore very short of the charge of beginning *almost every article*.

- II. 2. v. 602. — γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐσιχώνηο.
 v. 609. Τῶν ἤρχ' Ἀγκαΐας παῖς κρείων Ἀγκ-
 'Εξήκοντα νεῶν — [σημαρ
 v. 619. Νῆες ἔποντο θόαι,
 v. 637. — νῆες ἔποντο δωδέκα μιχλοπάρηοι.
 v. 654. Ἐκ Ῥόδε ἐνέα νῆας ἄγεν
 v. 671. — ἄγεν τρεῖς νῆας εἰσας,
 v. 680. — γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐσιχώνηο.
 v. 685. — πεντήκοντα νεῶν ἦν ἀρχὸς Ἀχιλλεύς.
 v. 713. — ἤρχ' Ἀδμήτοιο φίλος παῖς ἐνδεκά
 [σημαρ
 v. 718. — Φιλοκλήτης ἤρχεν, τόξων εὖ εἰδώς,
 'Επὶ δὲ νεῶν —
 v. 733. — γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐσιχώνηο.
 v. 748. Γονεὺς δ' ἐκ Κύφης ἦγε δύω καὶ εἰ-
 [κασι νῆας.

And the other *twelve* articles which end with, or have somewhere (as should have been added) inserted in them *the phrase* of μέλαιναί νῆες ἔποντο — do not all follow each other, but are interspersed among the *seventeen* recited above:—and now surely after *so many ways* of expressing the same thing, it had been but a vain affectation

tation to have attempted *more*:—and *Macrobius* certainly did well in preferring the other bare and unadorned reiterations of *Homer* to *Virgil's* laboured variety in the like case:—*Stat* (says he) *in consuetudine percensentium, tanquam per aciem dispositos enumerans.*—Lib. 5. c. 15. And adds afterwards—*Homerus omnes quos in catalogo numerat, etiam pugnantes vel prosperâ vel sinistrâ sorte commemorat: et cum vult dicere occisos, quos catalogo non inseruit; non hominis sed multitudinis nomen inducit: nulli certum nomen facile extra catalogum, vel addens in acie, vel detrahens. Sed Maro noster anxietatem hujus observationis omisit. Nam et in catalogo nominatos præterit in bello, et in bello alios nominat antea non dictos.* Ibid.

“ And (says Mr. Pope) if we look
 “ upon this piece with an eye to an-

“cient learning, it may be observed,
 “that however fabulous the other
 “parts of *Homer's* poem may be,
 “according to the nature of *epic* poe-
 “try: this account of the people,
 “princes, and countries, is purely
 “*historical*, founded on the real trans-
 “actions of those times, and by far
 “the most valuable piece of history
 “and geography left us concerning
 “the state of *Greece* in that early
 “period.

“But if we consider the *catalogue*
 “purely as *poetical*, it will not want
 “its beauties in that light. *Rapin*,
 “who was none of the most super-
 “stitious admirers of our author,
 “reckons it among those parts which
 “had particularly charmed him.”

And Mr. *Pope* in the succeeding
 part of this *paragraph* gives such a
 particular and full account of the se-
 veral

veral uses and poetical beauties contained in it (which for brevity sake only I omit here) as must needs highly delight and charm the heart of every reader.

And the *Author* of the *Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer* justly observes “ that the common
 “ *weak side* of *poetry* is, that while we
 “ read it, we perceive it is *so*: the
 “ fiction every where now and then
 “ discovers its *cloven foot*, and betrays
 “ its dissimilitude to truth, and though
 “ never so willing we *cannot* believe.
 “ —But when we sit down to *Homer*,
 “ and hear him tell over the number
 “ of his *ships*, count his *auxiliaries*,
 “ whence they came, how they were
 “ armed, what their fathers and
 “ friends said to them when they took
 “ their leave, with what hopes they
 “ set out, and so produce the *muster-*
 “ *roll*,

“ *roll*, as it were, of the two armies,
 “ we can no longer defend ourselves,
 “ and in spite of all our precaution,
 “ an opinion creeps upon us, *that*
 “ *every tittle of what he says is true.*”
 “ —(Sect. 12.)—



S E C T. XVIII.

THUS have I at length gone through the whole *Iliad*, and in the course of these *critical observations* obviated every remaining material difficulty, and removed every considerable objection, and fully shewn our author to be, according to what I laid down at the beginning, the *first* and *best* of poets; and further, as he is likewise found, which I purposed also to shew, defensible in lesser things, and almost faultless: I may now fairly and without exaggeration take up and apply to him the words of Lucretius—*Genus humanum ingenio superavit*—he was in *genius* and *knowledge* more than man *—and hence was he feigned by

* *Quid, in verbis, sentiis, dispositione totius operis? Nonne humani ingenii modum excedis?—* Quintil.

Aristotle

Aristotle to be the son of a *genius*,
by others of a *god*.

Men, who duly weigh things, must allow that all compositions, which are laboured, affected, or copied from others, however excellent they may be in other respects, yet must they be reckoned, on these accounts, *servile*, and as under bondage to other masters: but *Homer's* is all his own, perfectly free, majestic, and divine; and though flowing from the pure fountain of his own genius only, nevertheless it is, as the order of nature requires, guided by the banks of its own streams, full of ease and happiness, imitating *none*, nor imitable by *any**.

Former poets could not ascend the heights of his *heavenly Parnassus*: nor

* *Ut magni sit viri, virtutes ejus, non emulatione, quod fieri non potest, sed intellectu sequi.*
Quintil. lib, 10.

have any since been able fully to trace his footsteps and follow him *thither*: nor did any before or since his time enter the *ambrosial* gardens, where this poet gathered so many *immortal* flowers. His *fable* fully possesses our minds with its *probability*, and the *marvellous* in him is conceived and *credited* by us: and so admirable, moving, passionate and active * is his *narration* every where, that it transports the mind of the reader, fills him with inquietude, gives him delight and joy, or casts him into consternation, as it pleases: and makes him sensible of the violence of all these various motions and passions, even in subjects, which he himself knows, are feigned and invented at pleasure. Such is his admirable skill in *poetry*, such the power of his *magic*.

* Almost every thing being spoke or done by real or allegorical persons.

Certainly no mortal ever came near him in genius, wisdom, learning and all great and good qualities: inso-much that the transcendent encomium, given in *scripture* of the *wisest king*, may justly be applied to him, *his heart was as the sand on the sea-shore*: whose *mass* indeed is great, but parts exceeding *small* *: so was the mind of our poet, of so admirable and divine a frame and structure, that while it took in and comprehended the *greatest* and noblest objects, at the same time admitted and retained the least: whereas it has been thought exceeding difficult, if not impossible in nature, for one and the same *instrument*, to dispose and set in order things *great* and *small* †.

To

* *Bacon.*

† *Hic omnibus eloquentiæ partibus exemplum, et ortum dedit; hunc nemo in magnis sublimitate, in parvis proprietate, superavit: idem latus et pressus,*

Q

jucun-

To say all at once, *Homer's* mind was as a most capacious *mirrour*, receiving and reflecting back, at one and the same time, the images of all things in *heaven* and *earth* * : and the things themselves in his descriptions are all endued with *manners*, so strongly marked, and painted in such lively and full colours, that *poetry* in him is truly a *speaking picture*.

Thus accomplished, was he of old the greatest delight † of heroes and princes,

jucundus et gravis, tum copia tum brevitate admirabilis. Quintil.

* His poem, like *Achilles's* shield of divine workmanship, is—*vasti celatus imagine mundi*: Ovid.—and the ancients esteemed him as the great *high-priest* of nature, who was admitted into her inmost choir, and acquainted with her most solemn mysteries. *Blackwall's* *Introduct.* &c.

† *In cæteris oblectationibus est satietas finitima, et postquam paulò inveteraverit, flos ipsarum et vetustas marcessit: quo docemur, non illas liquidas rêvera voluptates, ac sinceræ fuisse, sed umbras tantum, et fallacias voluptatum, non tam qualitate suâ, quàm*
novi-

princes, and the entire favourite of poets, philosophers, lawgivers, and priests; and of all lovers of good letters in general: infomuch that the greatest *geniuses* used to have the *Iliad* treasured up in their memories, that they might the more readily taste and draw from that pure fountain. Our own *best poet* is said to have been so great an admirer and frequent a reader of

novitate jucundas: unde et voluptarii sæpius sunt monachi; et ambitiosorum principum senectus fere tristior est, et melancholiâ obsessa. Scientiæ autem non est satietas, verum et fruendi et appetendi, perpetuò et subinde recurrens vicissitudo; ut necesse sit, hujus delectationis bonum simplex esse, non ex accidente et fraude. Neque illa voluptas, quæ depingit Lucretius, ultimum in animo locum sortitur.—Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis, &c.—Suave est spectaculum (inquit) stantem aut ambulanti in littore, navem intueri tempestate in mari jactatam, suave isidem ex editâ turri duas acies cernere concursantes in planitiæ: at nihil dulcius est homini, quam mente, per doctrinam, in arce veritatis collocatâ, unde aliorum labores et errores despicere possit.

Bacon de Aug. Scient. lib. 1. sub finem.

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this his most finished work, that after his *blindness* he was able to repeat the greatest part of it by heart *: and he also frequently imitated and copied it, to the very high improvement of his *poetic* style, and vast adornment of his most justly admired *poem*.

In few words, so great has his character always been, and so wide spread and high his fame, and so raised the esteem of him in all ages, that he may fairly be said in the words of a most fine description of his own, *to hide his head in the heavens, and walk upon the earth* †: the equal admiration of gods ‡, and men.

His

* “Homer he could repeat almost all without “book.” Dr. Newton’s account of his life.

† Οὐρανῷ ἐς ἥριξ καίη, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.
Il. Δ. v. 443.

‡ They delivered their oracles in his verses, and had they conversed with men, it would have been

His works have already many ages outlived the monuments and temples erected to his memory and honour: and he who has long since survived twenty seven centuries, and is still growing and blooming in credit and fame, may fairly expect to live in all time to come, and justly challenge it as his own*.

been in his language. (*Arist.*) His poem is said to be wrote by Jupiter. (*Antholog*) And Milton says, Phæbus challenged it for his own. (*Par. reg.*)

* *Picturæ ac statua Cyri, Alexandri, Cæsaris, imò regum et principum multo recentiorum, nullo jam sunt modo parabiles: archetypa enim ipsa, jamdudum confecta vetustate perièrunt, exempla in dies primogenèa similitudine mutantur. At ingeniorum imagines, perpetuò integræ manent in libris, nullis temporum injuriis obnoxie, utpote quæ jugem renovationem recipere possunt; quanquam nec imagines dici propriè possint, quia perpetuò generant quodammodo, seminaque sua in animos hominum spargunt, atque ætatibus subsequentibus infinitas actiones, opinionesque fuscitant et progignunt. Bacon de Aug. Scient. lib. 1. sub finem.*

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In fine, thus honoured and secure of immortality, though *bitberto silent**, he may now safely, and without arrogance, take up, challenge, and apply to himself, the following most high encomium compounded of the finest parts of *Horace's* and *Pindar's* applauses of their own works, as a most deserved and lasting monument of his fame: and even without vanity say,—

*More durable than brass the frame
Which here I consecrate to fame:
Higher than pyramids that rise
With royal pride, to brave the skies:
Nor years, though numberless the train,
Nor flight of seasons, wasting rain,
Shall e'er its firm foundation shake.*

* There is, in all other poets, a custom of speaking of themselves, and a vanity of promising eternity to their writings: in both which *Homer*, who has the best title to speak out, is altogether *silent*.

Pope's Essay on Homer, sect. 1.

Nor

*Nor wintry showers that fearful rend
The teeming clouds, and violent descend,
Like armed hosts in dread array;
Nor winds tempestuous in their course,
Shall drive with irresistible force
These treasures to the sea*.*

Francis,

- * Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax——

—————aut innumerabilis

Annorum series, et fuga temporum.

Possit diruere :——

Horat.

Τὸν ἔτε χειμέριος ὄμβρος ἐπαιὶς ἐλθὼν,

Ἐριβρόμῃ νεφέλῃ στυγερῇ ἀμείλιχος,

Οὐτ' ἀνεμος ἐς μυχὰς αἰὼς

Ἄλχοι παμφόρῳ χερσὶ τυπόμενος.—Pindar.

THE END.

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Tully's observation. P. 32.

The few supposed errors and defects in this *poem*
ought to be ascribed to the copiers and transcribers. 34.

The separate parts of it why called *rhapsodies*. 35.

Certainly the *Iliad* was one regular *poem*, and wrote
originally in the present form it now appears in. 36.

Homer herein gave the first plan of a regular *poem*,
and carried it at once in an astonishing manner to
its height. 38.

The dissertations, comments, and notes, on this
volume, intended to furnish, together with Mr.
Pope's and his friends, a full and compleat vin-
dication of the *Iliad*. 41.

Section the Fourth

Contains a general, but succinct account of the
contents of the *Iliad*. 42.

Section the Fifth.

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low here the particular passages, which have
been left in obscurity by preceding commenta-
tors, and critics: the first of this kind is the
most famous one of *Jupiter's* sending a delusive
dream to *Agamemnon*. 48.

Hippias's and *Macrobius's* interpretations rejected. 49.

Dr. *S. Clarke's* observation upon it approved. 51.

And supported by additional arguments. 53, 54.

The whole shewn to be only an *allegory*. 56.

Bossu, the most judicious of critics, commends
Homer for dropping the plain history here, and
using an *allegory*. 61.

A very fine account of the use of *machines* in the
epopea, from *Bossu*; viz. when they ought to
be

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be used, and that the rules of *epic poetry* differ herein from those of the *theatre*, in the note of page 62.

Section the Sixth

Explains the 150th very difficult line of the fifth book:

Τὸς δ' οὐκ ἐχόμενοι δ' ἴσαν ἱερὰν οὐραίου. 64.

Not only Mr. *Pope* and his friends, but Dr. *S. Clarke*, puzzled by its ambiguity and obscurity. 64.

Made out particularly and fully from an internal mark and circumstance. 68, &c.

Section the Seventh.

Phoenix's speech in the ninth book beginning at the 480th verse, though given up by Mr. *Pope*, defended from the imputation of *nauseousness* and *impropriety*. 76.

Dr. *S. Clarke's* thought upon it approved. 76.

And supported by further arguments drawn from the text. 77, &c.

As the *sun*, so is *Homer*, best seen by his own light. 80.

Section the Eighth.

Hector's promise in the tenth book, of the *horses* and *car* of *Achilles* as a reward to *Dolon* for exploring the enemy's camp and learning their designs, fully vindicated against the exceptions of the *ancients* and Mr. *Pope's* imputations. 85, 86.

Virgil also seems by copying it to approve and vindicate the same; when he makes *Ascanius* promise *Turnus's* horse and armour to *Nisus*. 87.

Further vindicated from the consideration that *Hector's* oath is only conditional. 88.

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Section the Ninth

Contains a full vindication of *Nestor's* long speech to *Patroclus* in the eleventh book, notwithstanding he told him the haste he was in of returning with an answer to *Achilles* concerning the wounded hero *Macbaon*, whom he saw carried to *Nestor's* tent, and even added his friend's *impatient temper*. P. 94.

Mr. *Pope's* severe censure upon it removed, by observing that *Homer* is not apt to make long speeches in the heat of the action, as his censurers pretend. 95.

Neither the *Poet* nor *Nestor* forgot themselves here. 96.

Further, his wisdom and art in detaining him with a long speech on this occasion fully shewn. 100.

He hereby brings about by a speech of *ten minutes only* what the *embassy* of *Agamemnon* could not effect, the return of *Achilles* in the end, and the safety of the whole *Grecian* army. 107.

Section the Tenth

What is said of *Ajax* (beginning at the 114th verse of the sixteenth book) vindicated from Mr. *Pope's* exceptions of a *mean conceit*. 109.

Homer, upon the head of his spear being lopt off, which was his and the *Grecians* only remaining defence at the fleet (the other princes and warriors being dispersed) says,

Γῶ δ' Αἶας κατὰ θυμὸν ἀνύμωνα ῥήσσει τε
Ἐρσα θεῶν, ὃ ῥα πάγχυ μάχης ἐπὶ μῆδεα κίρρει
Σεῦς.

109.

Chapman's account of it. 110.

The whole vindicated from his and Mr *Pope's* objections. 113.

Homer clear of the imputation of a *pun* or *mean conceit*

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conceit here; of which the ancients indeed in general stand clear. P: 115.

Section the Eleventh.

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His pretence of *Milton's* copying this speech, when he makes *Satan* in the sixth book of *Paradise lost* use sarcaistical puns on the disposure of his diabolical enginry, disproved. 122.

The word *καλῶς* is used by *Homer* in one sense only on this occasion, not in various: so is clear of the imputation of a *mean conceit* or *pun*. 123.

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He objects to his foretelling that *Achilles* would come in his armour: whenas his mother *Thetis* had not yet brought him new armour from *Vulcan*: — but this difficulty is removed. 150.

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